

*Studies in Medieval History and Culture*

# COMMUNICATING PAPAL AUTHORITY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Edited by

Minoru Ozawa, Thomas W. Smith, and Georg Strack

ROUTLEDGE



# Communicating Papal Authority in the Middle Ages

This book bridges Japanese and European scholarly approaches to ecclesiastical history to provide new insights into how the papacy conceptualised its authority and attempted to realise and communicate that authority in ecclesiastical and secular spheres across Christendom. Adopting a broad, yet cohesive, temporal and geographical approach that spans the Early to the Late Middle Ages, from Europe to Asia, the book focuses on the different media used to represent authority, the structures through which authority was channelled and the restrictions that popes faced in so doing, and the less certain expression of papal authority on the edges of Christendom. Through 12 chapters that encompass key topics such as antipopes, artistic representations, preaching, heresy, the crusades, and mission and the East, this interdisciplinary volume brings new perspectives to bear on the medieval papacy. The book demonstrates that the communication of papal authority was a two-way process effected by the popes and their supporters, but also by their enemies who helped to shape concepts of ecclesiastical power.

*Communicating Papal Authority in the Middle Ages* will appeal to researchers and students alike interested in the relationships between the papacy and medieval society and the ways in which the papacy negotiated and expressed its authority in Europe and beyond.

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**Edited by  
Minoru Ozawa, Thomas W. Smith  
and Georg Strack**

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# Introduction

*Minoru Ozawa, Thomas W. Smith and Georg Strack*

The questions of exactly what authority the medieval papacy had, and how it was communicated and received, have been of perennial interest to historians. One of the most influential historiographical traditions in the study of the subject of medieval papal authority has been the emphasis on its hierocratic aspects and the development of a legal system and ideology to support the claims of a 'papal monarchy' (as John A. Watt and Colin Morris titled their studies of the central medieval papacy), pursued in the second half of the twentieth century.<sup>1</sup> The main proponent of the concept of hierocratic rule was Walter Ullmann, who advanced it a number of landmark studies.<sup>2</sup> Influenced in part by this tradition, individual popes such as Gregory VII and Innocent III proved attractive subjects for study, since they stood out as communicators of papal authority and power in their purest forms.<sup>3</sup> In the later Middle Ages, scholars have focused on Boniface VIII, Clement VI and his successors in Avignon, and on the popes who restored papal authority after the Council of Basle.<sup>4</sup> The late twentieth century was a fruitful era of research that laid the fundament for future work on papal authority, and resulted in classic studies that defined the field by scholars such as I. S. Robinson,<sup>5</sup> Kenneth Pennington,<sup>6</sup> and others,<sup>7</sup> who nuanced existing interpretations of papal authority. The research interests underpinning these works remain essential avenues of enquiry for scholars. Recent notable studies have addressed topics of long-standing interest, such as the basis of papal authority in the *Liber pontificalis*,<sup>8</sup> relations between the papacy and lay powers,<sup>9</sup> papal government,<sup>10</sup> jurisprudence,<sup>11</sup> and the institution of legation,<sup>12</sup> to take but a handful of examples. Current approaches are also building on the traditional foundation in different ways and exploring new perspectives.<sup>13</sup> Art historians have dealt a lot with visual representations of papal authority in architecture and frescoes;<sup>14</sup> a recent collection of articles develops a new approach to these topics, not least by considering clothing.<sup>15</sup> The influence of the material turn can also be seen in Steven A. Schoenig's examination of the pallium as a tool and representation of papal power.<sup>16</sup>

An important strand in the recent historiography seeks to temper the traditional notion of the papacy as the unchallenged centre of hierocratic rule. Kathleen G. Cushing and Jeffrey M. Wayno tackle the problem head-on in



their respective studies of the limitations that acted on papal authority.<sup>17</sup> Mary Stroll, Harald Müller, and others have examined the threat that anti-popes posed to the acceptance of papal authority.<sup>18</sup> During the investiture contest, the German kings challenged papal authority and put popes such as Paschal II under pressure.<sup>19</sup> A volume of essays on Alexander III bears the subtitle *The Art of Survival* – testament to that pope’s struggle to exert his authority in the face of considerable opposition.<sup>20</sup> Damian J. Smith has investigated when Innocent III reached the limits of his authority in his relations with the crown of Aragon.<sup>21</sup> The opponents of Boniface VIII went so far as to accuse him of heresy and of being the Antichrist himself.<sup>22</sup> John XXII was also confronted with the accusation of heresy for political reasons as well as for his theological ideas which his successor had to correct.<sup>23</sup> Danica Summerlin and Wayno demonstrate the importance of general councils in papal government and stress the role that prelates from across Christendom played in creating the content of conciliar decrees in a consultative and collaborative fashion – they were not just called to the curia to rubber stamp a premeditated papal programme.<sup>24</sup> The relationship between the papal centre and the local periphery, and the communication of (sometimes competing) authorities between the two, has proven particularly fruitful in advancing our understanding of papal authority.<sup>25</sup> It forms the explicit focus of several studies that analyse the connections and tensions between the Roman centre and regional spheres of influence, revealing how, just as in its engagement with councils, the papacy had to negotiate its authority in cooperation with other members of the universal Church.<sup>26</sup> It is to this historiographical tradition that the present volume seeks to contribute.

Adding to this debate on the communication of medieval papal authority, the essays presented here bridge Japanese and European scholarly approaches to ecclesiastical history to provide new insights into how the papacy conceptualised its authority and attempted to realise and communicate that authority in ecclesiastical and secular spheres across Christendom. Adopting a broad temporal and geographical approach that spans the Early to the Late Middle Ages, from Europe to Asia, the book focuses on the different media used to represent authority, the structures through which authority was channelled and the restrictions that popes faced in so doing, and the less certain expression of papal authority on the edges of Christendom. Its particular strength is the range of new perspectives that it offers on the communication of medieval papal authority, both in terms of the blending of Japanese and European scholarly approaches and studies on Europe (including its edges) and Asia.

The first part of the book explores the range of media that popes used to represent and communicate their authority, including letters, synodal sermons, and artistic endeavours such as the creation of tapestries. The examination of this source material testifies to the vitality of the papacy’s construction of its ideological and theological authority on its own terms,

revealing the multifaceted and sensitive efforts of popes to make their authority felt at a distance from their curial palaces in Italy and Avignon. In Chapter 1, Shigeto Kikuchi surveys the evidence for the communication and acceptance of papal authority in early medieval Francia. While there was an authority much closer to home in the form of the Carolingian kings, whom Franks seeking favour or redress could approach more easily, there was a certain awareness of, and desire for, papal authority in the kingdom. Kikuchi explores the wide range of different media through which papal authority was felt in Francia, including papal envoys, letters and privileges, gifts (including relics), the pallium, and epigraphic evidence, to test the extent to which papal government in this period was responsive or proactive. Kikuchi argues that the popes in this period were not merely reactive but took the initiative to travel over the Alps to Francia to communicate with its people directly, and acted spontaneously in inserting additional clauses of protection and sanction in its documents which their petitioners did not request. He also posits that papal and Frankish royal authority were not contradictory to one another but went hand-in-hand. Attention is drawn to the Frankish supplicants at the papal curia who were there conducting royal business or there as a result of royal intervention. In Chapter 2, Georg Strack examines how the motif of *Imitatio Christi* was used in papal synodal sermons between 1095 and 1274 both to express and challenge papal authority. Focusing first on Urban II's use of the motif, Strack then establishes a connection to Innocent III's famous sermon *Desiderio desideravi* (1215) in which that pope alluded several times to the Passion of Christ. He shows that the text of this sermon was widely received among chroniclers of the Late Middle Ages and that when they wrote about this speech, they emphasised the pope's authority as a Christ-like preacher and prophet. Strack then demonstrates how Gregory X made reference to the text of the sermon when his authority was challenged at the Second Council of Lyon in 1274, and also reveals – contrary to current scholarly interpretations – that when Matthew Paris reported Innocent IV giving a similar sermon at the First Council of Lyon in 1245, he did so in order to critique the pope as imitating Christ in words only, rather than to draw a positive comparison. Extending the examination of papal sermons further into the Late Middle Ages, in Chapter 3, Yuichi Akae studies John XXII and the beatific vision controversy, which the pope sparked in a sermon delivered on All Saints' Day 1331. John's sermon provoked an intense flurry of communications on the matter ranging from sermons, through *quaestiones disputatae*, pamphlets, letters, and notarial instruments, to oral utterances, and culminated in the pope revoking his position on his deathbed in 1334. As well as studying the sermons of John, Akae considers how figures such as Thomas Waleys, William Ockham, and Clement VI engaged with the pope's statements. He argues that John XXII faced particular difficulty in identifying and communicating his authority as a preacher. In Chapter 4, Alessandro Simbeni turns to the communication of papal authority through visual media with

a case study of the Assisi tapestry commissioned by Sixtus IV between 1471 and 1482. Simbeni emphasises that when the papacy used art to communicate its authority to ecclesiastical audiences (as opposed to secular ones) it had to employ different strategies and use richer and more complex figurative language, namely, in its biblical and doctrinal references. In the case of the Assisi tapestry, Sixtus attempted to use art to reinforce the unity of the Franciscan order, which was being torn apart from inside by divisions concerning its direction in the second half of the fifteenth century. The tapestry, which is based upon the allegorical image of a tree, depicts the history of the Franciscans and alludes to the variety and multiplicity of the order through the branches, while at the same time reaffirming the figure of Francis of Assisi as the common root of the tree. Despite Sixtus' attempts to use his authority to influence the debate, he was ultimately unsuccessful, and the order split officially into Observants and Conventuals in 1517.

Yet the careful manifestation of authority through different media did not always translate into influence on the ground. The chapters of part two draw attention to the structural restrictions and challenges which acted to limit papal power. The chapters in this section point to the threats posed by anti-popes, the problems that distance placed on international communication, and the machinations of curial factions in Italy. In Chapter 5, Harald Müller investigates how the contest between popes and anti-popes, and the schism that accompanied it, constituted a challenge to papal authority when the Roman papacy attempted to govern the whole *orbis christianus*. The existence of an anti-pope represented a threat to papal authority since it divided the Church hierarchy and damaged the status of the papacy as an institution. Müller's chapter explores how candidates managed to strengthen their arguments as rightful popes and overcome their rivals so as to install themselves on the throne of St Peter. He also investigates how people coped with the ambiguity inherent in the existence of two rival popes in a Church that was a monarchy by tradition. Chapter 6, by Thomas W. Smith, inspects how the logistical aspects of papal communication affected the administration of active crusades in Outremer and what this meant for pontifical authority. The Fifth Crusade (1217–21) represents a particularly good opportunity for such an investigation because it was an expedition whose character, strategy, and course were determined to a great extent by the sharing of information with the West. Smith outlines how papal crusade communication was conducted during the campaign and ascertains what its effect on the crusading movement was. He argues that the fate of the Fifth Crusade, perhaps more than any other, hung on contact and communication with the West. Paradoxically, though, in the end, perhaps the reliance of the Fifth Crusade on this regular stream of information on the preparedness of the long-awaited *crucesignatus* Emperor Frederick II contributed to its undoing. The regular updates that the crusaders received that Frederick was about to depart contributed directly to the inaction of the army while the pilgrims awaited his arrival, and it hamstrung the ability of the crusade leadership

to plan strategically in the long term. In Chapter 7, Jessica Nowak analyses the rich corpus of encrypted dispatches sent by Milanese ambassadors resident in mid-fifteenth-century Rome back to the duke of Milan. She studies how the papal curia as a locus of decision-making and the pope as a decision-maker and ‘man of action’ attracted a lot of attention in Milanese politics. Nowak demonstrates that the copious manuscript material left over from Milanese political correspondence reveals how the duke of Milan and his envoys went to great lengths to influence papal decision-making in their favour. Her chapter provides valuable evidence for the ‘global’ authority of the papacy according to the understanding at the time – something which comes through clearly in her source material.

Building upon the strengths and weaknesses of the institution examined in the first two parts of the book, the third and final part combines the two aspects and analyses the ways in which popes at the centre attempted to overcome the restrictions of their administrative structures in order to exert influence on the edges of Christendom, in Asia, Romania, and northern Europe through different media. Conversely – as in Nowak’s chapter on Milanese diplomacy – the essays also shed light on the two-way process in which the peripheries attempted to shape ecclesiastical politics and administration in Rome. Chapter 8, by Minoru Ozawa, analyses the background of the Viking King Cnut’s pilgrimage to Rome in 1027. Past scholarship has regarded his pilgrimage as an expression of the pious mind of the new Christian monarch. This interpretation is partly correct, but we must remember that he was the first Viking leader who communicated and negotiated with a pope. This fact was important for Cnut in the construction of his northern *imperium* around the Northern Seas. Why, then, did Cnut meet Pope John XIX? A political factor is that Cnut became the king of England in 1016, where he needed ecclesiastical magnates to operate a different administrative system from those in Scandinavia. In order to achieve that aim, Cnut felt he needed to represent himself to all as a Christian king, not a Viking leader, and to invest ecclesiastical and monastic institutions with more resources such as lands, privileges, and gifts. Yet there were economic factors at play here, too. As traders, Vikings transacted commercial treaties with emperors, kings, and magnates to expand their network of commerce. In 1027 Cnut requested that Emperor Otto II and King Rudolf of Burgundy keep the route to Rome safe for travellers and not to oppress them with tolls. This chapter explores how Cnut communicated with the pope and used papal authority in seeking to achieve his political and economic ends. In Chapter 9, Mamoru Fujisaki studies the attempts of the papacy to convert ‘infidels’ in Asia to Christianity in the thirteenth century. In pursuing contact with the Mongols, and attempting to persuade them to convert, the popes made use of the newly-founded mendicant orders. Fujisaki illuminates how the papacy attempted to overcome the barriers of communication between the different cultures, especially the question of language, in its attempt to achieve its aim. It provides a valuable case

study of the influence of the papacy at the cutting edge of its geographical reach. Chapter 10, authored by Koji Murata, assesses the nature and purpose of Pope Gregory IX's communication with John III Vatatzes, emperor of Nicaea. This correspondence is set against the background of Gregory's efforts in 1235 to organise a new crusade in aid of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, which was under threat from the empire of Nicaea and the Tsardom of Bulgaria. Although the crusade was never launched, its organisation generated a mass of communication being dispatched from the papal curia. Most studies hitherto have focused mainly on the letters to Catholic lords in the West, but Murata turns the focus on John III Vatatzes instead, a correspondence that has received insufficient attention. This chapter explores how the papacy communicated with Byzantium in exile during the crucial years of the empire of Romania. Murata uses the papal letters to reveal that the attempt by Gregory IX to initiate the Constantinople crusade produced a major change in the papal attitude towards the Byzantines. In Chapter 11, Hisatsugu Kusabu turns his attention to the papal missionary campaigns against the so-called 'medieval heresies' in the late twelfth to early thirteenth centuries in the eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans. Observing the nomenclature of the titles of 'heresies' as established by both papal and Byzantine heresiologists, Kusabu argues that the campaigns were planned for papal networking over socio-religious authorities rather than for an ideological and doctrinal war on heresies. A comparative investigation of the elaborate title for heresies made by Eastern heresiologists reveals the relative papal indifference to those doctrinal contents, including medieval dualism and even the works of Byzantine heresiologists. Instead, the popes considered Bosnia, Macedonia, and Bulgaria the nodes of networking and described these areas as the corridor for the transportation of people, including missionaries and heretics coming to and from the East, to be controlled by Catholic authorities. This chapter reveals the need for further research on the transportation of popular Christianity to the Balkans and the mutual communication that tended to be labelled as heretical by both the Church authorities and modern historians. In the twelfth, and final, chapter of the volume, Takahiro Narikawa illustrates the establishment, as well as the fragility, of the communication channel between the 'centre' of the Roman papacy and the 'periphery' of Latin Christendom mainly through crusading activity in its northernmost part, namely, the religious frontier between the Christian Norse (Scandinavians) and the non-Christian Saamis (called 'Finns' in medieval sources), a hunter-gathering people living in Fenno-Scandia. While the medieval Norse-Scandinavian involvement with the crusade both against the Muslims in Holy Land as well as their Baltic neighbours has recently attracted greater attention from researchers, few of them show interest in the fact that the official conversion of the Saamis usually dates to the early eighteenth century, well after the Reformation in Scandinavian countries. In other words, the Norse people maintained a religious frontier with these northernmost people throughout the Middle

Ages while taking the cross to Holy Land and fighting other ‘infidels’. Narikawa draws attention instead to the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century popes who issued a series of crusade encyclicals against these ‘Finns’ in the Far North and what it can tell us about both papal communication and the religious mentality of the medieval Norse-Scandinavian peoples themselves.

Taken as a whole, the chapters of this book contribute to new directions in the study of the medieval papacy, problematising and moving us another step further away from the classic interpretation of the popes as hierocratic rulers exercising unwavering authority over the universal Church and secular powers. Its chapters reveal that papal authority was dependent on the interplay between the papacy and those with whom it was in communication, whether at its curia engaging in petitioning and diplomacy or at a distance. The papacy’s communication of authority to other members, both within and without Christendom, was a delicate, and often perilous, course that waxed and waned in different regions and at different times according to shifting political contexts and changing popes. Indeed, the breadth of this book makes it possible to compare and contrast papal authority across a considerable expanse of time and space, from the Early to the Late Middle Ages, and from the centre to the peripheries, using a range of different media. The studies collected herein underline that the communication of papal authority was a two-way process effected by the popes and their supporters, but also by their enemies who helped to shape concepts of ecclesiastical power.

## Notes

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**Part I**

**Representations of Papal  
Authority**



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# 1 Authority at a Distance

## Popes, Their Media, and Their Presence Felt in the Frankish Kingdom

*Shigeto Kikuchi*

Let us remember the title of the book edited by Michael McCormick and Jennifer Davis: *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe*. Scholars are rethinking ‘the place of the early Middle Ages in the long-term development of European civilization’, and many enduring developments of European civilisation can be located in the Early Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup> It is worth noting that the recent historiography of the papacy emphasises a *papstgeschichtliche Wende*, that is, a turning point in papal history, in the eleventh century. Prior to that, papal activities are supposed to have been more reactive than those that followed.<sup>2</sup> Was the medieval papacy, then, very sleepy and dull in the ‘morning’? We must answer this question in the negative. Even if early medieval popes were often reactive, they still took action. They were awake; their authority was felt or imagined. But how? This question underlies the analysis of the present chapter.

As mentioned above, the recent historiography tends to explain activities of early medieval popes in terms of their reactive or passive character. According to Hans-Henning Kortüm and Jochen Johrendt, who have examined papal charters from the end of the ninth to the early eleventh centuries, papal privileges were generally issued in reaction to supplications from regional recipients. Forms of supplication, contents and formulaic features of issued papal charters might reflect the political situation and the *Urkundenlandschaft* of each region more than the spontaneous will of the papacy.<sup>3</sup> As far as I know, there is still no comprehensive study of papal documents of the eighth and ninth centuries which could be compared with the studies of Kortüm and Johrendt or with the voluminous book by Mark Mersiowsky about Carolingian royal charters.<sup>4</sup> We cannot leap to the presumption that popes issued their documents in the ninth century in a similar manner to that in the tenth century, because popes in both centuries were in politically different situations, respectively. However, we need to notice that Mersiowsky emphasised the reactive or responsive character in the issue of charters by Carolingian monarchs, also during the time of its zenith.<sup>5</sup> Let us also remember the fact that a papal letter, or a papal decretal, was issued in response to a specific query or petition of the recipient, like a Roman imperial rescript.<sup>6</sup> It is, therefore, no wonder if the popes in the eighth and

ninth centuries issued privileges responsively, in reaction to petitions from regional recipients.

These reactive features of papal activities have been observed recently by some historians from several dimensions. Thomas Noble, for example, reassessed the pontificate of Nicholas I, which has often served historians as a prototype of the more powerful and monarchical popes of the High Middle Ages. According to Noble, this pope's intercession in ecclesiastical politics in the Frankish kingdom was not spontaneous. It was only through appeals and petitions that he could learn about the situation there. His actions were responsive. Elements of his assertions of papal authority were not innovative in general but were found in the texts of his predecessors. What makes him remarkable is the fact that 'he acted on principle'. He acted more clearly than ever 'on the basis of a God-given apostolic authority' and 'struggled to maintain the unity of the Church and of the Catholic faith.'<sup>7</sup>

Hence, the questions are who, and under what condition, would or could appeal to a pope, and how did popes respond, because their reactions were not always in line with the intentions of the recipients of papal documents. One of the key perspectives here is the contemporary perception of papal authority.

Since the time of Anglo-Saxon missionaries, especially Boniface, the authority of the papacy was felt in the Frankish kingdom. There is general agreement that papal authority or primacy was not actually refused or rejected in Francia, although people like Archbishop Hincmar of Reims were sometimes in conflict with individual popes.<sup>8</sup> However, neither Franks (in a broader sense) nor popes were always conscious of the papal authority in Francia. Some examples will suffice. Around 819, Hrabanus Maurus, a monk and later abbot of Fulda before he became archbishop of Mainz, wrote a manual for clerics, *De institutione clericorum*. Although Fulda was in the tradition of Boniface, 'the papacy' does not have much of a presence in Hrabanus' description of the Church organisation. We can detect a certain respect that Hrabanus had for Roman or papal authority: he cites the documents of some earlier popes such as Telesphorus, Silvester I, Innocent I, Zosimos, Leo I and Gregory I and the *Liber Pontificalis*.<sup>9</sup> However, quoting Isidore of Seville, Hrabanus also describes the *pontifex* of Rome merely as one of the patriarchs besides Antioch and Alexandria.<sup>10</sup> This is contrasted with the institutional hierarchy drawn by Walahfrid Strabo around 840, who puts popes at the top of the ecclesiastical organisation, in a position comparable to that of emperors in the secular world.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, popes seem not always to have been clearly conscious of the fact that they influenced politics in the Frankish kingdom by their authority.<sup>12</sup>

Let us turn now to a brief overview of some of the 'media' of papal authority: something through which a pope himself intended to show his authority or someone else could feel it.<sup>13</sup> First, we can deem papal letters, envoys and gifts as such media. For us to understand properly the way of communication through those methods (or combination of methods), the

book of Achim Thomas Hack is now fundamental. I shall not go into detail here but point out the following fact: letters, envoys and gifts were sent and exchanged frequently between Rome and the Frankish kingdom. If a message from one side included propaganda or an announcement of papal authority, we should assess whether and how recipients accepted such messages and reacted to them as a form of reciprocal communication.<sup>14</sup> It is to be noted parenthetically that one and the same person could be employed sometimes as a royal envoy and at other times as a papal envoy. A typical example is Bishop George of Ostia and Amiens.<sup>15</sup> Besides papal messengers and envoys, however, we must mention papal legates as legal and authoritative representatives of popes whose ‘growth’ Kriston R. Rennie observes from the mid-eighth through the ninth centuries, in the era when papal government and its rule in central Italy were established on the one hand, and a political alliance between the papacy and the Franks under the Carolingians developed on the other. Though papal legates did not always come from Rome to the Frankish kingdom or empire – in other words, Frankish clergy could be appointed to be legates as papal representatives in the Frankish kingdom – such an appointment itself meant a papal effort to influence affairs in that kingdom by papal authority.<sup>16</sup>

As to gifts given by popes, we can turn our attention to relics. Relics preserved in Rome were redistributed north of the Alps by popes in response to requests, while Frankish interest in relics increased, sometimes being encouraged by Carolingian legislation, in the late eighth and early ninth centuries.<sup>17</sup> Even when a pope like Gregory IV himself did not spontaneously gift them,<sup>18</sup> relics as gifts could create, maintain and reinforce the personal relationship between the giver and the recipient and be reminiscent of the papal *largitas*.<sup>19</sup>

Another one of the visible media, which showed a close connection between a pope and a recipient, was the pallium. In the Frankish kingdom, the possession of the pallium could symbolise a close relationship to the papacy since Boniface tried to compel archbishops to receive it from the pope. In this sense, the bestowment of the pallium could be used by a pope as an ecclesiastical political instrument, as Steven A. Schoenig argues, because this system was based on papal authority.<sup>20</sup> However, it should be noted that the metropolitan system was re-established in the Frankish kingdom from the late eighth century onward (i.e., not the time of Boniface) and at the initiative of Charlemagne or his courtiers, not a pope. A candidate for a metropolitan see was dispatched by the Frankish monarch to Rome to obtain a pallium from the pope, but this candidate was neither elected nor invited by him.<sup>21</sup> In this sense, popes played a responsive role here too. However, some cases attract our attention, in which popes seem to have given pallia to bishops, not archbishops, sent from Francia as envoys of Frankish kings, for example, Actard of Nantes in 868 and Adalgar of Autun in 876. Schoenig interprets those bestowments of pallia as spontaneous acts of popes, who used such an occasion as the

visit of a Frankish clerical envoy to give a diplomatic sign of friendship to the Frankish monarch.<sup>22</sup>

Popes also furnished churches and religious houses with inscriptions as another medium by which to cement their authority.<sup>23</sup> Though this activity is observed mainly in Rome, Franks in Francia could be impressed and influenced by those papal epigraphs. On the one hand, some popes transcribed or quoted inscriptions in Roman churches in their documents, which were then sent north of the Alps. Through such a channel, Hincmar of Reims could learn and quote the two excommunication sentences given by Pope Leo IV against Anastasius Bibliothecarius in his *Annals of St-Bertin*. Pope Hadrian II quoted those sentences, which were inscribed on the wall of St Peter in Rome, in his speech held at the synod of Rome in October 868.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, we have some manuscripts produced by Franks who collected Roman epigraphs. The background to this phenomenon is that Franks including Charlemagne and his courtiers were interested in Lombardic inscriptions as models for royal propaganda and in Roman and papal inscriptions as spiritual and religious capital. The Franks owed such cultural transfer, of course, to Lombard intellectuals who served the Frankish king. It also needs to be noticed that the production of those collections was related to activities of Frankish envoys, or *missi dominici*, in Italy. For example, collections of Roman inscriptions were made in monasteries like St-Riquier and Corbie. Abbots of both abbeys, Angilbert and Adalhard, respectively, played a politically important role in Italy as *missi* of Charlemagne and *baiuli* of young Pippin of Italy at the end of the eighth century. Perhaps they copied those inscriptions in St Peter (*versiculi in basilica beati Petri*) including that of Gregory the Great, during their stay in Italy.<sup>25</sup> Some decades later, Abbot Adalung of Lorsch was sent to Rome by Louis the Pious in 823. Bernhard Bischoff related this legation with the compilation of a collection of Italian inscriptions.<sup>26</sup> This collection of Lorsch, the *sylloge Laurehamenses*, includes a subdivision titled *Epitaphia apostolicorum in ecclesia beati Petri*.<sup>27</sup> It is important to note that Adalung's mission was to investigate the case of the assassination of two Frankish clerics. In this case, Pope Paschal II was suspected of ordering the assassination.<sup>28</sup> So, Adalung copied inscriptions representing papal authority when the authority of one particular pope was in doubt. In any case, papal authority expressed in inscriptions could be transferred outside Rome not only 'directly' through another papal medium but also 'indirectly' through other Frankish channels.

The *Liber Pontificalis* is also to be reckoned among media transmitting papal authority. This collection of papal lives was disseminated in Carolingian Francia not only through its full version but also its partial copies and abridged versions.<sup>29</sup>

After this brief survey of papal media of authority, which were often used and functioned as a result of communication, that is, not as a unilateral expression of authority from the side of the Roman Church, papal privileges need to be discussed in more detail. As far as we know, while some

papal privileges were issued to Frankish recipients in the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, their number increased gradually during the ninth century, though it remained very small in comparison with royal *diplomata*. What did Franks expect from papal privileges compared to royal charters?

Before we tackle this question, we should note that papal privileges in the Carolingian age had a completely different appearance from royal ones. Papal privileges and letters were written on papyri several metres long, which were then rolled, while the material of royal charters was parchment, which was folded. Royal charters usually have larger dimensions than those of so-called private charters, but are much smaller than papal documents. While Carolingian royal charters introduced many graphical elements such as a more complicated chrismon, royal monogram, sign of subscription and decorated script such as *elongata*, papal documents were simpler in this aspect, though some graphical elements such as lead seals and the greeting formula *BENE VALETE* were still remarkable.<sup>30</sup> Mark Mersiowsky confirms that the appearance of papal documents was not imitated by other issuers of charters during the Carolingian age. Papal documents were easy to recognise as such. As artefacts, they were unique in that documentary world.<sup>31</sup> However, they were vulnerable because of the writing material of papyrus. This is why recipients of papal privileges often made their copies on parchment.

Let us examine the case of Fulda. According to Hermann Jakobs, we know that this abbey received seven papal privileges from the period between the foundation and the end of the ninth century. At least four of those privileges were copied onto single parchment sheets already in the ninth century.<sup>32</sup> It is to be noted that such copies were written in simple script and disregarding the original layouts.<sup>33</sup> This is remarkable because copies of royal charters often reproduced their graphical features, which we can also observe in the charters for Fulda.

For example, the immunity charter issued by Louis the Pious on 2 March 816 was copied five times, which implies its importance for the abbey. The oldest copy of this charter was made in the ninth century.<sup>34</sup> If we compare it with the original charter, one notices how the copyist made an effort to reproduce its visual elements in his copy.<sup>35</sup> It is possible that a graphical copy of a royal diploma could serve well for a festive occasion, while open-air use of the original charter could have damaged its material.<sup>36</sup> It is not clear to us whether, and how, copies of papal privileges on single parchments were used besides keeping their originals intact.<sup>37</sup> This difference in the production of copies of papal and royal documents needs to be studied further on another occasion.

Now we consider what Franks expected from papal privileges when compared with royal charters. In writing about papal privileges of property confirmation, protection and exemption, for example, Egon Boshof emphasised the decline of Carolingian royal power after the political crisis of the empire in the 830s and at the end of the century. According to



him, Frankish religious institutions no longer felt assured only with royal protection and immunity and began to seek another authority for increased protection.<sup>38</sup> However, when we turn to supplicants and recipients of papal privileges, we cannot accept this thesis easily. We should now consider who could be successful supplicants, what channels were available to them, whose intercession they could expect, and on what occasion they could petition.

First of all, we should note that kings themselves petitioned popes to issue them privileges. At the request of Charles the Bald in 877, Pope John VIII issued a protection privilege to the church of St Maria in Compiègne, which the emperor had founded. Charles confirmed this privilege, perhaps brought by papal legates Petrus of Fossombrone and Petrus of Senigallia, in his own diploma for the church.<sup>39</sup>

Furthermore, kings are mentioned in papal privileges, sometimes as intermediaries. In January 876, that is, shortly after his imperial coronation in Rome, Charles requested that Pope John VIII confirm his own privilege for the monastery of Saint-Médard in Soissons. Then the pope issued the oldest papal privilege confirming the property right of the monastery.<sup>40</sup> When monks of Corbie travelled to Rome in 855 to obtain papal confirmation of their three old privileges (one of which was synodal) about the property of the abbey and the right to the free election of their abbot, they managed to get a letter of recommendation from emperors Lothar I and his son Louis II. Benedict III issued a privilege for the abbey on a grand scale. Sometime later, Abbot Odo of Corbie also worked on Charles the Bald to persuade the pope. Benedict III issued another privilege, which, unfortunately, is now lost.<sup>41</sup>

On 28 April 850, Pope Leo IV confirmed the rights of the monastery of Erstein in Alsace on the petition of Empress Irmingard. The empress had founded this monastery shortly before on the land which the emperor had given her as a 'morning gift' with the consent and help of her husband Lothar I and papal approval. On that occasion, the pope gave relics to the monastery. It is also to be noted that Irmingard's petition for papal confirmation was submitted in Rome in April 850 by Bishop Joseph of Ivrea and other imperial legates, who went there to attend the imperial coronation ritual of Louis II.<sup>42</sup>

On 28 April 863, Nicolas I issued a privilege confirming the property rights of the abbey of St Denis granted by Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald. We should not overlook the fact that at that time, the abbot of St Denis was Louis, who was the cousin of the king.<sup>43</sup> On the same day, Nicholas I issued further confirmation privileges for Oroër and Saint-Germer de Fly as well as Corbie, all of which were issued at the request of the king and Bishop Odo of Beauvais. Odo was the former abbot of Corbie, and Charles had given the monasteries of Oroër and Saint-Germer de Fly to the church of Beauvais.<sup>44</sup> Odo was in Rome because he had to tell the pope the result

of the synod held at Pîtres and Soissons in 862, bringing various letters addressed to the pope.<sup>45</sup>

Royal envoys and *missi* who travelled over the Alps also had opportunities to supplicate for privileges concerning their own interests when they met popes. Fulrad of St Denis stayed in Italy several times as *missus* of Pippin III.<sup>46</sup> In February 757, when he probably was still in Rome as a royal representative after the second Italian expedition of Pippin, he obtained two privileges from Pope Stephen II.<sup>47</sup> One of them was a privilege of protection or exemption for the abbey St Denis, which is one of the oldest papal privileges of this kind issued for recipients in the Frankish kingdom.<sup>48</sup> In the other one, the pope gave two houses as lodgings in Rome.<sup>49</sup> Concerning one of these houses, Pope Hadrian I issued a privilege in 781 and guaranteed that Fulrad's successors could also hold this *hospitale*.<sup>50</sup> Adalgar of Autun, who was sent by Charles the Bald to Italy twice in the 870s, can be listed in this category, too. In November 876, he obtained a privilege from John VIII confirming the property of his episcopal church which Charles had restored.<sup>51</sup> In the next year, when he participated in the synod of Ravenna as an agent of the emperor, he obtained another charter of the pope confirming the possession of the abbey of Fravigny, which Charles had just granted to the episcopal church of Autun, as well as a synodal charter which confirmed that the abbey belonged to the episcopal church of Autun.<sup>52</sup>

The case of Fulda is also worth mentioning in considering the influence of kings on papal privileges. Boniface obtained a privilege of papal protection/exemption from Zacharias in 751, when we can detect no trace of royal intercession.<sup>53</sup> However, it is notable that in the mid-760s, when the monks of this abbey, who were in conflict with Lull, the successor of Boniface in the bishopric of Mainz demanded that King Pippin take the abbey under his direct protection.<sup>54</sup> More interesting is the effort of the monks to expand the content of the papal privilege given in 751 through forgeries. Around 823, Fulda tried to obtain a confirmation privilege of the tithe right described in a forged letter of Pope Zacharias, but Pope Paschal I refused it.<sup>55</sup> However, with the help of further forgery, Pope Leo IV issued a privilege just as the monks of Fulda wished in c. 855, because the pope read in a fabricated diploma of Pippin that the king had confirmed a privilege of Zacharias including the tithe right.<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, as Nicholas I issued a privilege for this abbey in 863, we can see that Abbot Theoto was sent to Rome as an envoy of Louis the German.<sup>57</sup>

The case of Vézelay is remarkable. Pope Nicolas I granted a protection privilege for the abbey of Vézelay in May 863 without royal intercession; what is more, this privilege forbade the entry of kings!<sup>58</sup> This seems to contradict my argument, but it is to be noted that the founders of the monasteries of Pothières and Vézelay, Count Gerard of Vienne and his wife Berta, had dedicated them to St Peter already at the time of its foundation in 858/859,<sup>59</sup> about which they wrote to the pope again in 863.<sup>60</sup> It is to be noted

that after 855, so also at the time of the foundation, the young king Charles of Provence was ill, and Gerard took the regency, and that his letter to the pope was written shortly after the death of the king in January 863. Possible violators supposed in the papal charter seem to be uncles of the late king, especially Charles the Bald.<sup>61</sup> However, after the region was integrated into the West Frankish kingdom, Charles the Bald confirmed that papal privilege at Gerard's request on 7 January 868. Gerard needed a royal diploma 'for greater stability' (*pro maiori firmitate*).<sup>62</sup> When Charles stayed in Pavia with John VIII, the pope issued at his request a further privilege for Vézelay, which the emperor confirmed shortly thereafter on 10 September 877 at the request of its abbot.<sup>63</sup> In the time of Charles the Bald, we can observe a kind of cooperation between the king and the pope.<sup>64</sup>

The tendency sketched above seems to have changed at the end of the ninth century. Now it gradually became rare for a king or his courtiers to intercede in the effort of religious institutions to obtain papal privileges. Finally, at this moment, we may relate the decline of the royal power with the more frequent issue of papal charters. According to Johrendt, from the end of the ninth century until the mid-eleventh century, kings very rarely petitioned popes to issue privileges for themselves or their followers in West Francia and Catalonia.<sup>65</sup>

However, it is difficult to find a precise turning point. The travel of John VIII to West Francia, with which I shall deal below, could be a beginning. Let us examine the case of the abbey of Lagrasse in the south of France. This abbey obtained a privilege from Hadrian III in June 885 without royal intercession. Pope Hadrian confirmed, however, the privilege (*jus*) of the abbey which Charles the Bald had confirmed and given.<sup>66</sup> It is to be noted that Charles took that property under royal protection with the right of immunity.<sup>67</sup> Let us study the situation in which this papal charter was issued. The West Frankish king Carloman died at the end of 884, and Charles III the Fat was invited to govern the kingdom in early 885. After he was consecrated at Grand in Lotharingia on 20 May 885, as Simon McLean shows, he acted as *rex in Gallia* and issued charters also for the West Frankish beneficiaries. Then he came to Ponthion in mid-June and received the formal submission of the West Frankish nobles to him as the new king.<sup>68</sup> There is neither trace of royal intercession nor of a request for it from the abbey's side concerning the issue of the papal charter. If the monks of Lagrasse turned directly to the pope in Rome, it is not clear whether it was because they could not expect effective royal support anymore or because it was difficult for them to visit the court of the new king. It is also possible that the monks in the south did not know the political situation exactly and so had no idea where to go.

Turning to the East Frankish kingdom, we also cannot find any clear trace of royal intercession when the abbey of Corvey obtained a confirmation privilege of papal protection from Stephen V on 30 May 887.<sup>69</sup> However, it should be noted that Corvey obtained a diploma from Charles III confirming its rights on 7 May 887 in Waiblingen in Alemannia, where an assembly

had been held since 30 April. Stephen had been invited to that assembly, though he could not travel north.<sup>70</sup> It is also to be noted that the emperor and the pope appear to have exchanged envoys in March and April.<sup>71</sup> In any case, in the tenth century, Ottonian kings again interceded often in the issue of papal privileges for religious institutions in their kingdom.<sup>72</sup>

Now we must consider why kings wanted papal privileges and supported others in obtaining them in the ninth century. Why did churches and monasteries want both royal and papal privileges? We can stress the textual characteristics of papal privileges. According to Appelt, formulaic expressions of papal privileges in the ninth century were not yet influenced by such expressions of royal immunity privileges, but by those found in letters of Gregory I, which did not concern property rights or other legal rights but protected the weak, such as widows.<sup>73</sup> Furthermore, early medieval papal privileges include spiritual sanction such as anathema against their violators. Let us remember that Carolingian royal charters except those of Louis II of Italy generally contained neither punitive nor spiritual sanction clauses. Such a clause is found only in some restricted cases, mainly in privileges of immunity.<sup>74</sup> Thus, papal privileges could guarantee rights in a different way from royal ones.

The following example of a synodal privilege may allow us further insight into the mentality of the Franks in this respect. At the synod of Paris in 846 or 847, monks of Corbie petitioned with royal approbation (*ex voluntate principis*) the synodal bishops to confirm their privilege given by Louis the Pious and Lothar I, which Charles the Bald, giving royal protection for the monastery, had already confirmed about six years earlier.<sup>75</sup> The synodal privilege confirmed the rights of the monastery and threatened possible violators with spiritual sanction, in other words, anathema.<sup>76</sup> Wilfried Hartmann assumed, along with Boshof, that not the royal protection but the episcopal threat of anathema seems to have been appreciated as more efficient protection against infringement committed by regional aristocracy, because bishops were in a strong position in the kingdom of Charles.<sup>77</sup> We should note, however, that this synod was convoked by the royal order (*ex regio praecepto*) to investigate which privileges given in earlier ages should be maintained;<sup>78</sup> Charles the Bald was in those days not always in accordance with episcopal demands and wishes as the case of an assembly of Épernay in 846 shows.<sup>79</sup>

Furthermore, this synodal privilege was confirmed by Pope Benedict III in 855 again with royal intercession, as mentioned above. Why did Charles the Bald approve this process? There was no tension between the secular and the religious authority in this respect. Kings and other recipients of papal privileges could expect supplementary protection with papal authority, which should have been the highest in the religious-spiritual hierarchy. In other words, the royal and the papal protection were complementary. When the channels of supplication to the papacy seem to have been often restricted to the narrow circle around kings, to get royal consent in these matters could be seen as royal *gratia*, which could prove a good

relationship between a king and a supplicant (and a would-be recipient) of a papal privilege, a fact which in itself could place the latter in a stable position in society.

Such restriction of the channels of supplication might be explained by the difficulty of long-distance communication in the Carolingian age. Klaus Herbers pointed out that it was very difficult to prove the accuracy of supplications from distant regions, and this was a weak point of the papal administration of those years.<sup>80</sup> Visitors with royal authority, in other words, with royal guarantee, were perhaps reliable informants for popes about the actual condition in the Frankish kingdom so that they could be involved in legal affairs north of the Alps. The case of Fulda, which was eager to obtain the tithe right, as mentioned above, may be suggestive in this regard.

Opportunities for better communication with Franks were, however, offered to popes by their own travels over the Alps to the Frankish kingdom, which could allow them to come into personal contact more easily. We know of six cases of such papal travels between 754 and 878. We cannot deny that the popes had to travel to the north because of urgent political problems and danger, respectively, but both the popes and Franks could utilise those opportunities offered by the physical presence of the papacy in Francia.<sup>81</sup> The first pope who travelled north was Stephen II, who anointed Pippin and his sons at St Denis in 754. Bishop Chrodegang of Metz, who had served as royal envoy to the papacy several times, was bestowed the pallium at this time.<sup>82</sup>

The journey of Leo III in 799 to Paderborn in Saxony is famous as a pre-history of the imperial coronation of Charlemagne.<sup>83</sup> The sojourn of the pope influenced the historical memory of the diocese of Paderborn. The *Translatio sancti Liborii*, which was written c. 890, described the foundation of the bishopric of Paderborn achieved by ‘tam imperatoria sanctione quam apostolicae benedictionis auctoritate’.<sup>84</sup> There is also an earlier notice that Charlemagne made a donation to a *monasterium* in Paderborn which would perhaps become the core of the bishopric, in the presence of Leo, who issued a confirmation charter with a sanction clause.<sup>85</sup>

The journey of Gregory IV in Francia in 833, who was on the side of Lothar I in Lügenfeld, is worth mentioning because it caused the Pseudo-Isidorian team to forge a papal protection privilege for Bishop Aldricus of Le Mans.<sup>86</sup> It is remarkable because this forgery was a contemporary work which might have been useful to justify papal authority against unlawful deposition of a bishop by secular power. That could match one of the purposes of the Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries.<sup>87</sup>

When John VIII came to Francia in 878,<sup>88</sup> this pope utilised the opportunity more effectively than ever to establish a direct connection between the papacy and Frankish religious institutions.<sup>89</sup> We have eighteen privileges that he issued for recipients in the Frankish kingdom between 872 and 882.<sup>90</sup> Eight of them were issued without royal intercession during his journey of 878, seven of which were issued in Troyes, where the pope presided over a synod.<sup>91</sup>

To conclude after this survey of media transmitting papal authority and some aspects of papal activities: we should not overemphasise the reactive side of papal activities, especially in issuing charters. Because of the geographical distance, the popes in the Carolingian age took action generally in a reactive manner. This tendency might have been related to restricted opportunities in which they could be concerned with affairs to the north of the Alps. When popes were present there, they could be more active than in Rome. The more papal authority was felt by the Franks through various media or papal presences, the more opportunities to interact with them were offered to popes who could now be more conscious of their own supreme religious authority. The popes in the ninth century were not merely *Mittel zum Zweck*, an expression of Horst Fuhrmann which has been recently reconsidered in the study of Clara Harder about the relationship between the Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries and the papacy. In contrast to earlier studies, Harder argues that these forgeries manufactured since the 830s in Corbie could contribute to magnifying papal authority felt in the Frankish kingdom, where at the beginning of the 850s at the latest, papal authority was relied upon in the face of legal issues concerning the Church.<sup>92</sup> Her thesis is interesting for this chapter because of temporal coincidence between the beginning of the reinforcement of papal authority through those forgeries and the gradual increase in the number of papal privileges issued for Frankish recipients.

Popes themselves were not content with mere reaction as expected by supplicants. When Benedict III issued the above-mentioned privilege for Corbie in 855, he not only confirmed the earlier privileges of the monastery including the synodal privilege of 846/847 but also added so much extra text that the length of the privilege doubled. In the extended text, the pope emphasised papal authority and primacy over the whole empire. In addition, he threatened with sanctions laypeople including Louis II of Italy, who was the intermediary in issuing this privilege, and his brother, Lothar II, so that they would not infringe the rights of the monastery confirmed by the privilege.<sup>93</sup> Sebastian Scholz sees this large-scale addition of text as a reaction against pressure from the emperors.<sup>94</sup> Rennie observes that under Benedict 'the privileges for Corbie were transformed from simple ecclesiastical immunity to total exemption' and sees several 'innovations' in this papal privilege.<sup>95</sup> Another example of similar additional threats against laypeople including intermediaries and recipients themselves can be found in the privilege for the monastery Saint-Géry de Cambrai. Pope John VIII issued it confirming earlier royal diplomata on 28 September 878, namely, during his stay in West Francia, at the request of Boso of Vienne. The latter may have been a lay abbot of this monastery. John VIII prohibited people in any *ordo* including kings and abbots from infringing the property right of the monastery, threatening them with anathema.<sup>96</sup> Popes seem to have been able to do more than petitioners and intermediaries expected.<sup>97</sup> In this sense, they were able to be active in a responsive way.

## Notes

- 1 *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies*, ed. by Jennifer R. Davis and Michael McCormick (Aldershot, 2008), citation from p. 1.
- 2 See Rudolf Schieffer, 'Motu proprio. Über die papstgeschichtliche Wende im 11. Jahrhundert', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 122 (2002), 27–41; Jochen Johrendt, *Papsttum und Landeskirchen im Spiegel der päpstlichen Urkunden (896–1046)* (Hannover, 2004), pp. 12–13; Klaus Herbers, *Geschichte des Papsttums im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 2012), p. 146. See also Rudolf Schieffer, 'Die Reichweite päpstlicher Entscheidungen nach der papstgeschichtlichen Wende', in *Das begrenzte Papsttum. Spielräume päpstlichen Handelns: Legaten — delegierte Richter — Grenzen*, ed. by Klaus Herbers, Fernando López Alsina and Frank Engel (Berlin, 2013), pp. 13–27; Kathleen G. Cushing, 'Papal Authority and Its Limitations', in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*, ed. by John H. Arnold (Oxford, 2014), pp. 515–30 (p. 522).
- 3 Hans-Henning Kortüm, *Zur päpstlichen Urkundensprache im frühen Mittelalter. Die päpstlichen Privilegien 896–1046* (Sigmaringen, 1995); Johrendt, *Papsttum und Landeskirchen*.
- 4 Mark Mersiowsky, *Die Urkunde in der Karolingerzeit. Originale, Urkundenpraxis und politische Kommunikation* (Wiesbaden, 2015). However, we have some recent studies on papal documents of the ninth century which focus on selected aspects, such as Veronika Unger on their transmission, formal elements in their protocol and eschatocol, the papal registers, archive and chancellery: Veronika Unger, *Päpstliche Schriftlichkeit im 9. Jahrhundert. Archiv, Register, Kanzlei* (Vienna, 2018).
- 5 Mersiowsky, *Die Urkunde*, pp. 766–82.
- 6 Detlev Jasper, 'The Beginning of the Decretal Tradition: Papal Letters from the Origin of the Genre through the Pontificate of Stephen V', in idem and Horst Fuhmann, *Papal Letters in the Early Middle Ages* (Washington, DC, 2001), pp. 1–133 (pp. 13–14).
- 7 Thomas F. X. Noble, 'Pope Nicholas I and the Franks: Politics and Ecclesiology in the Ninth Century', in *Religious Franks: Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms, Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong*, ed. by Rob Meens (Manchester, 2016), pp. 472–88. See also Hans-Werner Goetz, 'Auctoritas et Dilectio. Zum päpstlichen Selbstverständnis im späteren 9. Jahrhundert', in *Gedenkreden auf Ludwig Buisson (1918–1992)*, ed. by Jörg Lippert (Hamburg, 1993), pp. 27–58, who studies the concepts of *apostolica auctoritas* and *dilectio* expressed in letters of Pope Nicholas I, taking the reactive nature of his action into account.
- 8 Cf. Horst Fuhrmann, 'Widerstände gegen den päpstlichen Primat im Abendland', in *Il primato del vescovo di Roma nel primo millennio. Ricerche e testimonianze. Atti del symposium storico-teologico, Roma, 9–13 ottobre 1989*, ed. by Michele Maccarrone (Vatican City, 1991), pp. 707–36; Wilfried Hartmann, 'Zur Autorität des Papsttum im karolingischen Frankenreich', in *Mönchtum, Kirche, Herrschaft, 750–1000. Josef Semmler zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Dieter R. Bauer (Sigmaringen, 1998), pp. 113–32. See also Rudolf Schieffer, 'Papsttum und mittelalterliche Welt', in *Hundert Jahre Papsturkundenforschung. Bilanz — Methoden — Perspektiven. Akten eines Kolloquiums zum hundertjährigen Bestehen der Regesta Pontificum Romanorum vom 09.–11. Oktober 1996 in Göttingen*, ed. by Rudolf Hiestand (Göttingen, 2003), pp. 373–90 (pp. 384–85).
- 9 See Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum. Über die Unterweisung der Geistlichen*, ed. and trans. by Detlev Zimpel, *Fontes Christiani*, 61 (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 52–55 with references to the texts in question.

- 10 Hrabanus, *De institutione clericorum*, pp. 144, 146. Although Hrabanus describes the pallium as the apostolic symbol of the dignity of an archbishop, he does not mention how it could be bestowed. As I discuss below, archbishops received pallia from popes in the Carolingian age. It seems that Hrabanus uses the expression *propter apostolicam vicem* not to mention papal agency, but to treat archbishops as successors of the Apostles: Hrabanus, *De institutione clericorum*, p. 182. For this, see also *ibid.*, p. 29, where the editor notices that the word *fano* in the sense of the maniple was used by Hrabanus for the first time but not reserved exclusively for popes.
- 11 Alice L. Harting-Correa, *Walahfrid Strabo's Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum: A translation and liturgical commentary*, *Mittellateinische Studien und Texte*, 19 (Leiden, 1996), c. 32, p. 190.
- 12 Note that the *Liber pontificalis*, the official biography of popes in the Early Middle Ages, kept silent on the query put to Pope Zacharias by Pippin through his envoys about who was worthy to be king, though the papal answer was at least one of strong support for the change of the dynasty in 751. The number of references to the Franks only increases after that. See Clemens Gantner, *Freunde Roms und Völker der Finsternis. Die päpstliche Konstruktion von Anderen im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert* (Cologne, 2014), pp. 218–27.
- 13 Cushing, 'Papal Authority', pp. 518–22, also enumerates such factors as requests for relics of the Roman martyrs and for 'Roman' legal and liturgical books (though they were not always really authentically papal and Roman), papal confirmation of grants of immunity and exemptions, as well as papal protection for monasteries (but with examples of later ages than the Carolingian age), and the grant of the pallium (also focusing on the eleventh century and thereafter).
- 14 Achim Thomas Hack, *Codex Carolinus. Päpstliche Epistolographie im 8. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 2006–07).
- 15 For him see: Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, II: 1001–04; Shigeto Kikuchi, *Herrschaft, Delegation und Kommunikation in der Karolingerzeit. Untersuchungen zu den Missi dominici (751–888)* (Wiesbaden, 2021), pp. 543–46.
- 16 Kriston R. Rennie, *The Foundations of Medieval Papal Legation* (Basingstoke, 2013), esp. pp. 154–69. See also Michèle Gaillard, 'La délégation de l'autorité papale dans l'espace franc, de Grégoire le Grand à Nicolas Ier', in *Hiérarchie des pouvoirs, délégation de pouvoir et responsabilité des administrateurs dans l'Antiquité et au Moyen Âge. Actes du colloque de Metz, 16–18 juin 2011*, ed. by Agnès Bérenger and Frédérique Lachaud (Metz, 2012), pp. 373–88.
- 17 Julia M. H. Smith, 'Old Saints, New Cults: Roman Relics in Carolingian Francia', in *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, ed. by eadem (Leiden, 2000), pp. 317–39.
- 18 Cornelia Scherer, *Der Pontifikat Gregors IV. (827–844). Vorstellungen und Wahrnehmungen päpstlichen Handelns im 9. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 2013), pp. 213–29; Caroline J. Goodson, *The Rome of Pope Paschal I: Papal Power, Urban Renovation, Church Rebuilding and Relic Translation, 817–824* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 218–19, noted that popes were sometimes 'unforthcoming' about such requests. For Hadrian's refusal, see Smith, 'Old Saints, New Cults', p. 322.
- 19 Klaus Herbers, 'Rom im Frankenreich. Rombeziehungen durch Heilige in der Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts', in *Mönchtum, Kirche, Herrschaft*, ed. by Bauer, pp. 133–69; Herbers, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, pp. 93–94; Cushing, 'Papal Authority', p. 520.
- 20 Steven A. Schoenig, *Bonds of Wool: The Pallium and Papal Power in the Middle Ages* (Washington, DC, 2016).
- 21 Daniel Carlo Pangerl, *Die Metropolitanverfassung des karolingischen Frankenreiches* (Hannover, 2011).



- 22 Schoenig, *Bonds of Wool*, p. 69.
- 23 Sebastian Scholz, 'Primat und päpstliche Politik in den römischen Inschriften von der Spätantike bis ins hohe Mittelalter', in *Die Päpste. Amt und Herrschaft in Antike, Mittelalter und Renaissance*, ed. by Bernd Schneidmüller, Stefan Weinfurter, Michael Matheus and Alfried Wiczorek, vol. I (Regensburg, 2016), pp. 121–37.
- 24 *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, ed. by Félix Grat, Jeanne Vielliard and Suzanne Clémencet (Paris, 1964), pp. 144–50.
- 25 Florian Hartmann, 'Karolingische Gelehrte als Dichter und der Wissenstransfer am Beispiel der Epigraphik', in *Karolingische Klöster. Wissenstransfer und kulturelle Innovation*, ed. by Julia Becker, Tino Licht and Stefan Weinfurter (Berlin, 2015), pp. 255–74. See *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores*, ed. by Johannes Baptista de Rossi, vol. II.1 (Rome, 1888), pp. 78–94. For Angilbert and Adalhard as royal *missi*, see Kikuchi, *Herrschaft*, pp. 312–18, 377–82.
- 26 Bernhard Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch im Spiegel ihrer Handschriften*, 2nd edn (Lorsch, 1989), no. 52, p. 99; Hartmann, 'Karolingische Gelehrte', pp. 263–65.
- 27 *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, pp. 126–30. See also *ibid.*, pp. 38–39, 98–118, 144–53.
- 28 *Annales Regni Francorum inde ab a. 741 usque ad a. 829, qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses Miores et Einhardi*, ed. by Friedrich Kurze, MGH, SS rer. Germ. 6 (Hannover, 1895), pp. 161–62. For Adalung as imperial *missus*, see Kikuchi, *Herrschaft*, pp. 327–29.
- 29 See the analysis of manuscripts by Rosamond McKitterick, *Rome and the Invention of the Papacy: The Liber Pontificalis* (Cambridge, 2020), pp. 171–223.
- 30 For lead seals of early medieval papal documents, see Irmgard Fees, 'Zur Bedeutung des Siegels an den Papsturkunden des frühen Mittelalters', in *Urkunden und ihre Erforschung. Zum Gedenken an Heinrich Appelt*, ed. by Werner Maleczek (Wien, 2014), pp. 53–69.
- 31 Mark Mersiowsky, 'Papstprivilegien in der graphischen Welt karolingerzeitlicher Originalurkunden', in *Papsturkunden des frühen und hohen Mittelalters. Äußere Merkmale — Konservierung — Restaurierung*, ed. by Francesco Roberg, Andreas Hedwig and Irmgard Fees (Leipzig, 2011), pp. 139–73; Mersiowsky, *Die Urkunde in der Karolingerzeit*, pp. 259–77.
- 32 *Germania Pontificia iv: Provincia Maguntinensis 4: S. Bonifatius, Archidioecesis Maguntinensis, Abbatia Fuldensis*, ed. by Hermann Jakobs and Heinrich Büttner, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* (Göttingen, 1978), nos 17, 19, 21, 26, pp. 361–64. See also Hermann Jakobs, 'Zu den Fuldaer Papsturkunden des Frühmittelalters', *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte*, 128 (1992), 31–84, esp. the table on p. 71.
- 33 See facsimiles hosted online by the Archivinformationssystem des Hessischen Landesarchivs und weiterer hessischer Archive: HStAM Bestand Urk. 75, nos 33, 34, 35, 38, <<https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys>> [accessed 13 March 2019].
- 34 HStAM Bestand Urk. 75, no. 12.
- 35 HStAM Bestand Urk. 75, no. 13.
- 36 See Jakobs, 'Zu den Fuldaer Papsturkunden des Frühmittelalters', p. 39.
- 37 Rimbart of Hamburg-Bremen described in his *Vita Anskarii* a suggestive episode: Ansgar sent a pamphlet to each bishop in the kingdom of Louis the German. This pamphlet consisted of textual copies of papal privileges regarding missions in the north. Rimbart, 'Vita Anskarii', in *Quellen des 9. und 11. Jahrhunderts zur Geschichte der hamburgischen Kirche und des Reiches*, ed. by Werner Trillmich (Darmstadt, 1961), pp. 124, 126. It may reflect the contemporary perception of texts of papal privileges: they could work well without their materiality.

- 38 Egon Boshof, 'Traditio Romana und Papstschutz im 9. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen zur vorcluniazensischen libertas', in idem and Heinz Wolter, *Rechtsgeschichtlich-diplomatische Studien zu frühmittelalterlichen Papsturkunden* (Cologne, 1976), pp. 1–100.
- 39 *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, roi de France*, ed. by Georges Tessier, Chartes et diplômes relatifs à l'histoire de France, 3 vols (Paris, 1943–55), ii: no. 425, pp. 448–54. See *Regesta Imperii, I. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern 751–918 (926/1962)*, iv: Papstregesten, 800–911. Pt. 3: 872–82, ed. by Veronika Unger (Cologne, 2013), no. 224.
- 40 *Bullarum diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum Romanorum pontificum Taurinensis editio* [...] a S. Leone magno usque ad praesens, ed. by Luigi Tomassetti, vol. i (Torino, 1857), no. 11, pp. 342–43; *Regesta Imperii, I, 4, 3*, no. 158. See *Regesta Imperii, I, 4, 3*, nos 149, 196 and 267 for further examples.
- 41 Léon Levillain, *Examen critique des chartes mérovingiennes et carolingiennes de l'abbaye de Corbie*, Mémoires et documents de l'École des Chartes, 5 (Paris, 1902), no. 29, pp. 266–77; Karl Voigt, 'Zu den Privilegien Benedikts III. und Nikolaus' I. für Corbie', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 35 (1914), 142–47; *Regesta Imperii, I. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern 751–918 (926/1962)*, iv: Papstregesten, 800–911. Pt. 2: 844–72, fasc. 1. 844–58, ed. by Klaus Herbers (Cologne, 1999), nos 374–75.
- 42 Paul Scheffer-Boichorst, 'Zur Geschichte der Reichsabtei Erstein', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, 43 (1889), 283–99 (pp. 284, 291–96 [with the edition of the papal privilege]); Boshof, 'Traditio Romana', pp. 62–65; Klaus Herbers, *Leo IV. und das Papsttum in der Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen päpstlicher Herrschaft in der späten Karolingerzeit* (Stuttgart, 1996), pp. 361–63; *Regesta Imperii, I, 4, 2, 2*, no. 228; *Die Urkunden Lothars I. und Lothars II.*, ed. by Theodor Schieffer, MGH Diplomata Karolorum, 3 (Berlin, 1966), no. 106, pp. 251–53. For imperial legates, see also Kikuchi, *Herrschaft*, p. 687 and n. 2109.
- 43 *Papsturkunden in Frankreich. Neue Folge 9. Diözese Paris II. Abtei Saint-Denis*, ed. by Rolf Große, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philol.-Hist. Klasse, III.225 (Göttingen, 1998), no. 12, pp. 95–100; *Regesta Imperii, I. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern 751–918 (926/1962)*, iv: Papstregesten, 800–911. Pt. 2: 844–72, fasc. 2. 858–67 (Nikolaus I.), ed. by Klaus Herbers (Cologne, 2012), nos 584, 624. For Louis of St-Denis, see *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, III: pp. 38–42; Kikuchi, *Herrschaft*, pp. 713–14.
- 44 *Regesta Imperii, I, 4, 2, 2*, nos 622–23.
- 45 See *Regesta Imperii, I, 4, 2, 2*, no. 620.
- 46 Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, II: 997–99; Kikuchi, *Herrschaft*, pp. 528–31.
- 47 See *Le Liber Pontificalis. Texte, introduction et commentaire*, ed. by Louis Duchesne and Cyrille Vogel, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 2. série, III, 2nd edn, 3 vols (Paris, 1886–1957), i: 454–55.
- 48 *Papsturkunden in Frankreich. Neue Folge 9, II*: no. 2a, pp. 64–70.
- 49 *Papsturkunden in Frankreich. Neue Folge 9, II*: no. 3, pp. 71–72.
- 50 *Papsturkunden in Frankreich. Neue Folge 9, II*: no. 6, pp. 78–79.
- 51 *Cartulaire de l'église d'Autun*, ed. by A. de Charmasse (Paris, 1865), no. 25, pp. 40–41; *Regesta Imperii, I, 4, 3*, nos 210, 213. At this occasion Adalgar obtained the pallium from the pope. *Regesta Imperii, I, 4, 3*, no. 193.
- 52 *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, ii: no. 420, pp. 435–37; *Die Konzilien der karolingischen Teilreiche 875–911*, ed. by Wilfried Hartmann, Isolde Schröder and Gerhard Schmitz, MGH, Concilia, 5 (Hannover, 2012), no. 8c, pp. 73–75 (the synodal charter); *The Cartulary of Flavigny 717–1113*, ed. by Constance Brittain Bouchard, Medieval Academy Books, 99 (Cambridge, MA, 1991), no. 23,

- pp. 69–72 (the papal privilege). For Adalgar, see: *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, III: 80–82; Kikuchi, *Herrschaft*, pp. 302–06.
- 53 *Urkundenbuch des Klosters Fulda*, ed. by Edmund Ernst Stengel, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Hessen und Waldeck, 10 (Marburg, 1958), no. 15, pp. 25–32. For this privilege, see Lotte Kéry, 'Klosterexemption in der Einöde? Bonifatius und das Privileg für Fulda (751)', *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte*, 60 (2008), 75–110.
- 54 Kriston R. Rennie, *Freedom and Protection: Monastic Exemption in France, c. 590–c. 1100* (Manchester, 2018), pp. 74–75.
- 55 *Germania Pontificia* iv,4, nos †4, \*9, \*10, pp. 356–58.
- 56 *Codex Diplomaticus Fuldensis*, ed. by Ernst Friedrich Johann Dronke, vol. i (Kassel, 1850), no. 557, pp. 249–50; *Germania Pontificia* iv, 4, nos \*14, \*15, \*16, 17, pp. 360–61; *Regesta Imperii*, I, 4, 2, 1, nos 324–26, 328. The forged privilege of Pippin is: *Urkundenbuch des Klosters Fulda*, no. †20, pp. 39–43. See its facsimile, HStAM Bestand Urk. 75 no. 2.
- 57 *Regesta Imperii*, I, 4, 2, 2, nos 498–500; *Codex Diplomaticus Fuldensis*, no. 575, p. 259. As Theoto obtained another privilege from Pope Benedict III in October 853 (*Codex Diplomaticus Fuldensis*, no. 574, p. 258), he probably obtained permission of King Louis to travel to Rome. See *Regesta Imperii*, I, 4, 2, 1, nos 412, 413. Compare the more complex case of Saint-Calais: *Regesta Imperii*, I, 4, 2, 2, nos 613, 640, 654–59, 669, 682; Rennie, *Freedom and Protection*, pp. 94–96.
- 58 *Monumenta Vizeliacensia. Textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'abbaye de Vézelay*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 42, 2 vols (Turnhout, 1976–80), I: no. 3, pp. 255–58.
- 59 *Monumenta Vizeliacensia*, i: 243–48.
- 60 *Monumenta Vizeliacensia*, i: 249–54. For Gerard, see Kikuchi, *Herrschaft*, pp. 547–49.
- 61 See Boshof, 'Traditio Romana', pp. 12–18; Rennie, *Freedom and Protection*, pp. 97–101.
- 62 *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, ii: no. 309, pp. 181–84
- 63 *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, ii: no. 446, pp. 501–03. See *Regesta imperii*, I, 4, 3, no. 281.
- 64 Compare Rennie, *Freedom and Protection*, pp. 101–03. On the occasion of his travel to the west Frankish kingdom in 878, John VIII had opportunities to consecrate both the monasteries of Vézalay and Pothères. *Regesta imperii*, I, 4, 3, nos 389, 391. Some months later, on 19 September 878 in Troyes, John gave a further privilege to Vézalay: *Regesta imperii*, I, 4, 3, no. 439.
- 65 Johrendt, *Papsttum und Landeskirchen*, pp. 227–43, 262–71.
- 66 *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de La Grasse*, ed. by Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier and Anne-Marie Magnou, *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France. Section d'histoire médiévale et de philologie. Série in-8°, 24* (Paris, 1996), no. 33, pp. 56–57.
- 67 There are two diplomata of Charles with which the monarch confirmed the property right of Lagrasse and gave immunity and royal protection: *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, ii: no. 340, pp. 257–60 (28 June 870) and no. 415, pp. 427–29 (25 October 876). It is not clear without any mention of place names which diploma of Charles Hadrian confirmed, but the genuineness of the diploma of 876 is now suspicious (*Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de La Grasse*, no. 29, pp. 50–51).
- 68 Simon MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 124–29.
- 69 *Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Hildesheim und seiner Bischöfe*, i: *Bis 1221*, ed. by Karl Janicke, Publikationen aus den königlich-preußischen Staatsarchiven,

- 65 (Leipzig, 1896), no. 16, pp. 14–16; *Germania Pontificia* v.1: *Provincia Maguntinensis 5: Dioeceses Patherbrunnensis et Verdensis*, ed. by Hermann Jakobs, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* (Göttingen, 1978), no. 9, pp. 82–83. See Boshof, ‘*Traditio Romana*’, pp. 93–96. This privilege is addressed not only to Corvey but also to the church of Hildesheim.
- 70 *Die Urkunden der deutschen Karolinger*, ii: *Die Urkunden Karls III*, ed. by Paul Kehr, *MGH, Diplomata* (Berlin, 1937), no. 158, pp. 255–57. See MacLean, *Kingship and Politics*, pp. 161–69.
- 71 See ‘*Fragmenta registri Stephani V. papae*’, ed. by Erich Caspar, in *MGH, Epistolae*, 7, *Karolini aevi*, 5 (Berlin, 1928), nos 13, 14, pp. 340–41.
- 72 Johrendt, *Papsttum und Landeskirchen*, pp. 200–26.
- 73 Heinrich Appelt, ‘Die Anfänge des päpstlichen Schutzes’, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 62 (1954), 101–11. For the relationship between formulaic expressions of letters of Gregory I and later papal privileges, see also Kriston R. Rennie, ‘*Quam sit necessarium: Monastic Exemption and the Privilege(d) Tradition*’, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung*, 103 (2017), 323–39.
- 74 Joachim Studtmann, ‘Die Pönformel der mittelalterlichen Urkunden’, *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, 12 (1932), 251–374; François Bougard, ‘Jugement divin, excommunication, anathème et malédiction. La sanction spirituelle dans les sources diplomatiques’, in *Exclure de la communauté chrétienne*, ed. by Geneviève Bühner-Thierry and Stéphane Gioanni (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 215–38, esp. 216–21; Shigeto Kikuchi, ‘Threat and Menace for Stability: On the Use of Sanction Clauses under the Early Carolingians’, *Spicilegium*, 3 (2019), 15–25.
- 75 *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, i: no. 7, pp. 19–21.
- 76 *Die Konzilien der karolingischen Teilreiche 843–859*, ed. by Wilfried Hartmann, *MGH, Concilia*, 3 (Hannover, 1984), no. 13, pp. 144–49.
- 77 Wilfried Hartmann, *Die Synoden der Karolingerzeit im Frankenreich und in Italien* (Paderborn, 1989), p. 218.
- 78 *Die Konzilien der karolingischen Teilreiche 843–859*, no. 13, p. 144: ‘[...] ut super his quaereremus [...] quaeve privilegia antiquitus tradita conservari deberent’.
- 79 Hartmann, *Die Synoden der Karolingerzeit*, p. 216.
- 80 Herbers, *Leo IV. und das Papsttum*, pp. 409–14, esp. p. 410. See also *Regesta imperii*, I, 4, 2, 2, p. ix; *Regesta imperii*, I, 4, 3, p. xiii.
- 81 Pius Engelbert, ‘Papstreisen ins Frankenreich’, in *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, 88 (1993), 77–113.
- 82 Engelbert, ‘Papstreisen ins Frankenreich’, pp. 79–92; Kikuchi, *Herrschaft*, pp. 466–67.
- 83 For this journey, see Engelbert, ‘Papstreisen ins Frankenreich’, pp. 92–96.
- 84 *Erconrads Translatio s. Liborii. Eine wiederentdeckte Geschichtsquelle der Karolingerzeit und die schon bekannten Übertragungsberichte mit einer Einführung, Erläuterungen und deutscher Übersetzung des Erconrad*, ed. by Alfred Cohausz, *Studien und Quellen zur westfälischen Geschichte*, 6 (Paderborn, 1966), ‘*Erconradus, De sancto Liborio episcopo et confessore*’, p. 50. See Rudolf Schieffer, ‘Die Anfänge der westfälischen Domstifte’, *Westfälische Zeitschrift*, 138 (1988), 175–91 (pp. 177–78).
- 85 ‘*Translatio sancti Liborii episcopi*’, in *Erconrads Translatio s. Liborii*, p. 84; *Germania Pontificia*, v.1, no. \*2, p. 19. See Schieffer, ‘Die Anfänge’, p. 176.
- 86 For this journey, see Engelbert, ‘Papstreisen ins Frankenreich’, pp. 101–07; Scherer, *Der Pontifikat Gregors IV.*, pp. 165–95.
- 87 Clara Harder, *Pseudoisidor und das Papsttum. Funktion und Bedeutung des apostolischen Stuhls in den pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen* (Cologne, 2014), pp. 181–212. See also Scherer, *Der Pontifikat Gregors IV.*, pp. 184–95. All the privileges

- with Gregory's name for Frankish monasteries are also forgeries made in the ninth century or later. Cf. Scherer, *Der Pontifikat Gregors IV.*, pp. 235–40.
- 88 For this journey, see Engelbert, 'Papstreisen ins Frankenreich', pp. 108–12.
- 89 Boshof, 'Traditio Romana', p. 28; Rennie, *Freedom and Protection*, p. 104.
- 90 *Regesta Imperii*, I, 4, 3, nos 28 (Reichenau), 149 (Saint-Vaast in Arras, with royal intercession), 158 (St Médard in Soissons, at royal request), 196 (SS Maria und Philibert in Tournus, at royal request), 210 (Autun, at the request of an imperial missus), 224 (St Marian in Compiègne, at royal request), 259 (Flavigny, at the request of an imperial missus), 267 (SS Maria und Philibert in Tournus, at imperial request), 274 (Autun, at the request of an imperial missus), 281 (Vézelay, at imperial request), 400 (Charlieu), 401 (Saint-Gilles), 437 (Montiéramey), 438 (Pothières), 439 (Vézelay), 440 (Charroux), 441 (Saint-Géry de Cambrai, at the request of Boso of Vienne), and 446 (Saint-Marcel-lès-Chalon). Furthermore, John VIII interceded for the church of Narbonne so that Louis the Stammerer would issue a diploma for it: *Regesta Imperii*, I, 4, 3, no. 419. We have 14 privileges which John issued for Italian recipients during his pontificate: *Regesta Imperii*, I, 4, 3, nos 16, 19, 23, 25, 40, 41, †?61, 271, 275, 278, 496, 615, 718, 722.
- 91 *Regesta Imperii*, I, 4, 3, nos 400, 401, 437, 438, 439, 440, and 441 in Troyes, no. 446 in Chalon-sur-Saône on the way back to Italy.
- 92 Clara Harder, 'Der Papst als Mittel zum Zweck? Zur Bedeutung des römischen Bischofs bei Pseudoisidor', in *Fälschung als Mittel der Politik? Pseudoisidor im Licht der neuen Forschung. Gedenkschrift für Klaus Zechiel-Eckes*, ed. by Karl Ubl and Daniel Ziemann, MGH, Studien und Texte, 57 (Wiesbaden, 2015), pp. 173–86.
- 93 Levillain, *Examen critique*, no. 29, pp. 266–77. See Boshof, 'Traditio Romana', pp. 8–9.
- 94 Sebastian Scholz, *Politik — Selbstverständnis — Selbstdarstellung. Die Päpste in karolingischer und ottonischer Zeit* (Stuttgart, 2006), pp. 180–83. Nevertheless, he puts this privilege in the context of political crisis in the Frankish world during the 830s and 840s. He considers, along with Egon Boshof, that the abbot of Corbie needed the synodal and then the papal privilege because the royal protection could no longer offer enough security for religious institutions. Clara Harder also seems to take this position: Harder, 'Der Papst als Mittel zum Zweck?', p. 186.
- 95 Rennie, *Freedom and Protection*, pp. 89–92 (citation from p. 91). For the historical development of papal exemption privileges in the second half of the ninth century after this 'turning point', see *ibid.*, pp. 88–118.
- 96 Boshof, 'Traditio Romana', pp. 42–43; *Regesta Imperii*, I, 4, 3, no. 441.
- 97 However, it was not unusual in early medieval donation charters that a donator prohibited an infringement of the donated property not only by his descendants but also by himself.

## 2 *Imitatio Christi* in Papal Synodal Sermons, 1095–1274

*Georg Strack*

This essay deals with a topic that modern scholars have so far neglected, namely, the pope's *imitatio Christi*.<sup>1</sup> The following analysis of synodal sermons will make clear how important this motif was in communicating papal authority. The first part of this chapter focuses on the High Middle Ages when Urban II and Calixtus II preached the imitation of Christ in order to claim power in issues of war, peace, and Church reform.<sup>2</sup> The second section discusses papal speeches preserved in a sermon collection and in various narrative sources and protocols of the thirteenth century. These sources on the one hand indicate that Innocent III and Gregory X continued in the oratorical tradition of their predecessors. On the other hand, when looking at Innocent IV, it will become apparent that the motif of *imitatio Christi* was also being used to challenge papal authority.

### **Urban II, Clermont (1095)**

As far as we know, the first pope who preached the imitation of Christ was Urban II.<sup>3</sup> The *Gesta Francorum* reports that Urban II referred to this motif when he advertised the crusade during his journey through France.<sup>4</sup> According to this source the pope asked the crusaders to imitate Christ and explained that everyone who 'wants to save his soul' should follow 'the way of the Lord in humility' and 'must suffer for the name of Christ many things' (Acts 9.16).<sup>5</sup> In return, Urban II promised them: 'great will be your reward' (Matthew 5.12). After hearing these words, his listeners decided to 'follow in the footsteps of Christ' ('Christi [...] sequi uestigia'), a typical phrase denoting the imitation of Jesus and his suffering.<sup>6</sup> The writer of the *Gesta* was probably a layman from southern Italy with a limited knowledge of Urban's preaching.<sup>7</sup> It remains, therefore, uncertain whether he was accurately relating the pope's concept of the crusade or, rather, popular beliefs. Be this as it may, this chronicler clearly linked the motif of *imitatio Christi* to papal authority. In his narrative, Urban II was not a pope seeking support in France against challenges to his position from the German emperor and an anti-pope. Instead, he seemed to be a powerful pontiff whose sermons on the Passion had a great effect on the listening knights.

In the early twelfth century, three chroniclers reworked the *Gesta Francorum*, namely, Guibert of Nogent, Robert the Monk, and Baudri of Bourgueil.<sup>8</sup> While Guibert ignored the imitation of Christ, Robert made certain allusions to it.<sup>9</sup> In his fanciful account of the Council of Clermont, he depicts Urban II giving a classical battle speech rather than a synodal sermon.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, the pope uses some arguments similar to those in the *Gesta* and asks his audience to leave everything behind to follow Jesus (Matthew 10.37 and 19.29). At the end of his speech, he warns his listeners that only those who take their cross and follow Christ will be worthy of him (Luke 14.27). When Baudri of Bourgueil produced his version of Urban's sermon, he also quoted Luke 14.27.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, in his *Historia Ierosolimitana*, the pope refers to Christ's Passion when illustrating to his audience how beautiful it would be to die in the same city in which Jesus had suffered for them.<sup>12</sup> Baudri's version differs from other reports of Urban's crusade proclamation in depicting the pontiff as an emotional preacher showing many expressions of grief and sorrow.<sup>13</sup> These aspects are stressed in the *Historia Ierosolimitana* by the use of synonyms ('lacrimae et gemitus'; 'suspiria et singultus'; 'condolere et compatiri'), repetitions ('ploreumus, fratres, eia ploreumus'; 'horrendum est, fratres, horrendum est'), and exclamations ('proh dolor!'; 'proh nefas!'; 'Ve nobis, fratres [...]'). In contrast to other chronicles, Urban II not only requires his listeners to follow Jesus but himself also imitates the Passion in order to show his Christ-like authority.

### **Calixtus II, Reims (1119)**

Another – completely different – concept of *imitatio Christi* is attributed to one of Urban's successors, namely, Calixtus II while speaking at the Council of Reims.<sup>14</sup> The Norman chronicler Orderic Vitalis participated in this assembly and gave a report about the negotiations that took place there between France and England.<sup>15</sup> The council began on 19 October 1119 with ardent discussions about who was responsible for the destruction of the city of Évreux.<sup>16</sup> The parties accused each other and, after two days, the situation seemed to be getting out of control. According to Orderic, certain *ministri* had to bring the council to silence before the pope gave his sermon about Christ as peacemaker.<sup>17</sup> In the introduction, Calixtus II spoke to his listeners as 'sons of God' (*fili Dei*) who should be following Jesus, the (singular) son of God (*filius Dei*). He explains that Christ came down to earth in order to bring peace (*pax*) to mankind. All clerics should do the same and imitate Jesus who had preached peace before his passion and after his resurrection (John 14.27; Luke 24.36).<sup>18</sup> Invoking the authority of God, St Peter and the other apostles, the pope exhorts his audience to keep the Truce of God.<sup>19</sup> In the next part of his speech, Calixtus explains that he will have to leave the council for negotiations with the emperor (on which more will be said in the next section of this chapter). He does not explicitly refer to Christ's authority in connection with confirming the Truce, but this confirmation

and his negotiations with Henry V indicate clearly that he wished to be seen as acting like Jesus in bringing peace to humanity. At the end of his speech, Calixtus II asks the assembly to pray for the success of these negotiations. Thereafter, he explains, he would find a solution for the dispute between France and England. He warned his listeners that he would excommunicate anyone attempting to disrupt his peace efforts (*publica quies*).

Another participant in the council, Hesso Scholasticus, also makes some remarks on this sermon. His *relatio* is the first synodal account in the High Middle Ages that is not part of a chronicle.<sup>20</sup> Hesso's account has quite a different focus, namely, on the negotiations that were to settle the Investiture Controversy. From this source, we learn more about the preparations that were made for the meeting of the pope and the emperor in Mouzon. Since Henry V was excommunicated, he could not be received at the Council of Reims. Although the *relatio* does not say much about Calixtus' departure, it does mention a papal sermon about the necessity of peace.<sup>21</sup> Hesso's information agrees with Orderic's chronicle both on the topic of the sermon and on the date (21 October 1119). Moreover, both sources report that the pope ended with a plea for prayers and the threat to excommunicate all who were not supporting his efforts for peace.

While Hesso does not deal with *imitatio Christi* in this context, he records this motif in his account of Calixtus' sermon in the last session of the council. Since the negotiations with the emperor had failed, the pope's authority was in question. In this situation, Calixtus II tried to demonstrate his power as head of the Church. With this intent, he declared a strict prohibition of lay investiture comprising all churches and their properties. However, 'when this [decree] was read out, the disapproving roar of certain clerics and many laymen sound[ed] so loudly through the council that they spent the day until evening in heated argument'.<sup>22</sup> The pope had to end the session and to reconsider his decisions on investiture. The next day, he delivered a sermon before the new decree was promulgated. In this address, Calixtus II threatened to dissolve the council without declaring any canons. He quoted the Gospel of John and equated himself with Christ requiring his followers to eat of his flesh and drink of his blood (John 6.41–68). Some of Jesus' followers had refused to do this, thus rejecting the Eucharist. Calixtus began comparing the protesting clerics with these unbelievers and required them to leave the council. Thereafter he addressed the bishops and cardinals posing them the question that Christ had also directed to his apostles: 'Do you want to go away as well (John 6.68)?'

As we can see, Calixtus referred to *imitatio Christi* in using the words of Jesus and in alluding to the Eucharist.<sup>23</sup> After this speech, one might expect that the pope would have demonstrated his power by repeating his prohibition of all sorts of lay investiture. However, according to Hesso, his new decree referred only to the investiture of bishops and abbots and not to all churches and their properties. This emendation was surely not an 'unimportant concession from the pope'.<sup>24</sup> On the contrary, it was substantial enough



to avoid new protests. The council never did accept the strict version of the canon on investiture, as some scholars have assumed.<sup>25</sup> Of course, the pontiff seems to have argued for quite a controversial decision. But, as on other occasions, Calixtus was using the assembly as ‘a stage to demonstrate that he could solve internal ecclesiastical problems’.<sup>26</sup> After the failure of the negotiations with the emperor, the pope’s authority was severely damaged. He was not successful in his new efforts for Church reform, yet he tried at least to assert papal authority in his dramatic sermon on the imitation of Christ. Calixtus II also alluded to (other aspects of) this motif before he left the council after two days of negotiations. Thus, we see him continuing the tradition established by Urban II, but focusing on other aspects of *imitatio Christi*, such as peace-making and the Eucharist, rather than on the Passion.

### **Innocent III, Lateran (1215)**

While the motif of Christ as peacemaker was not adopted in later papal oratory, other facets of *imitatio Christi* became quite common in synodal sermons of the thirteenth century. When opening the Fourth Lateran Council in November 1215, Innocent III held a speech on Church reform and the crusade which focused on *imitatio Christi* and included many allusions to the Passion and the Eucharist.<sup>27</sup> The speech has the form of a typical *sermo modernus* and survived in Innocent’s sermon collection.<sup>28</sup> It begins with a theme referring to Christ’s speech to his apostles before the Last Supper: ‘I have earnestly desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer’ (‘Desiderio desideravi hoc pasca manducare vobiscum, antequam patiar’, Luke 22.15).<sup>29</sup> The next section is an introductory paragraph that contains some features of a ‘protheme’. The initial prayer is missing, but there is a typical attempt to capture the audience’s attention and benevolence. With this intent, Innocent quotes another biblical verse: ‘that is, *before I die*’ (‘id est *antequam moriar*’ [my emphasis]). This phrase does not seem very specific, yet these are the words of the dying Isaac to his son Esau: ‘and prepare for me delicious food [...] that my soul may bless you *before I die*’ (‘fac mihi inde pulmentum sicut velle me nosti, et affer ut comedam: et benedicat tibi anima mea *antequam moriar*’, Genesis 27.4 [my emphasis]). In order to win the benevolence of his audience, the pope demonstrates humility adding: ‘Although I desire to remain in the flesh until the work [...] is finished, nevertheless not mine, but the will of God be done’.<sup>30</sup> Hereafter follows a repetition of the theme and an explanation of some words, both of which are typical for the introduction of a sermon. First, the pope explains the terms ‘with longing’ (*desiderio*) and ‘Passover’ (*pascha*) in great detail.<sup>31</sup> In this context, he compares the Lateran Council with the Passover of King Josiah.<sup>32</sup> This is another allusion to sudden mortality, because King Josiah died shortly after his Passover (4 Kings 23.22–23; 2 Paralipomenon 35.19–20).

Since the theme of the sermon alludes to Jesus before the Last Supper, the imitation of Christ's suffering is the dominant motif. It seems that Innocent wanted to indicate that he was going to die soon. The pope knew his destiny and accepted it; this is also reminiscent of Jesus. In the following part of the sermon, the 'division', Innocent interprets the 'Passover' as 'transition' (*transitus*). According to the different senses of Scripture, he noted three sorts of transition that should take place at the council. First, the assembly should organize a 'corporeal transition' (*transitus corporalis*) to the Holy Land, in other words, a crusade.<sup>33</sup> Second, there should be a 'spiritual transition' (*transitus spiritualis*), by which Church reform was to be understood.<sup>34</sup> The synodal sermon concludes with a third paragraph on the 'way to eternity' (*transitus aeternalis*).<sup>35</sup> In this section, the pope discusses different types of corporeal and spiritual nutrition. At the end, he deals with the Eucharist, interpreting it as a guarantee of the transition from this world to God and from death to eternal life. This last paragraph is very short, yet it refers to the biblical quotation at the beginning of the sermon. When Innocent spoke of the Eucharist, he was continuing in the oratorical tradition of Calixtus II. He linked the topics of Church reform and the crusades with the motif of the Last Supper and thus with the imitation of Christ.

Innocent's synodal sermon was relatively well-known in the historiography of the Middle Ages. Many reports of the Lateran Council mention the theme *Desiderio desideravi*. Because the pope died about half a year after the council, in July 1216, some chroniclers assumed that Innocent was making allusions in the speech to his own death. Consequently, they attributed a special sort of authority to the pope who not only used Jesus' words but also had a Christ-like prophetic gift. The first writer who drew a link between the sermon and the death of Innocent III was Richer of Senones in the later thirteenth century.<sup>36</sup> Richer's report of the sermon focused on the topic of Church reform and also on the fact that the pope had spoken very clearly about his own death.<sup>37</sup> This view was shared to a certain degree by Jacques de Guise, a chronicler in the diocese of Cambrai at the end of the fourteenth century.<sup>38</sup> Jacques described the Lateran Council as the most important assembly of the Christian era. In this context, he borrowed the comparison to Josiah's Passover from Innocent's sermon. The chronicler explained further that the pope had prophesied his own death and gave a new interpretation by pointing to the fact that he did this unconsciously: 'ignorans horam sue mortis prophetavit'.<sup>39</sup> In the middle of the fifteenth century, Jacques' Latin chronicle was translated into French by Jean Wauquelin.<sup>40</sup> His version faithfully records the report of Innocent's sermon at the Lateran Council and the pope's allusion to his own death: 'Et la prophetisa comme ignorant l'heure de sa mort'.<sup>41</sup> This vernacular text survives in about thirty manuscripts and was also printed in Paris in 1532.<sup>42</sup> As we can see, the vision of Innocent III as a Christ-like prophetic preacher was still popular in the sixteenth century.

Admittedly, some modern historians have challenged the view that Innocent spoke about his own death in *Desiderio desideravi*.<sup>43</sup> However, considering the obvious allusions to Jesus before the Passion, to the death of Isaac, and to King Josiah, who died shortly after his Passover, it could well be that Innocent III indeed had a premonition of his nearing end, as other scholars have argued.<sup>44</sup> Michele Maccarrone assumes that the pope died, as some of his predecessors had done, of malaria ('febbre terzana').<sup>45</sup> The course of this disease often includes phases of partial recovery without symptoms before reaching the terminal stadium. Since malaria was quite common and Innocent III had good medical advice, it is probable that he knew his fate.<sup>46</sup> Be that as it may, we may conclude that the pope gave a Christ-like performance on this very special occasion. The opening of the Fourth Lateran Council marked a culmination of papal power in the Middle Ages. Innocent's oratory was not completely new, since earlier popes had referred to the imitation of Christ in sermons about the crusade and Church reform. Innocent III, however, put much more emphasis on the motif of *imitatio Christi*. Later chroniclers immortalized the sermon *Desiderio desideravi* and stressed the pontiff's authority as a Christ-like prophet who had followed Jesus in word and deed.

### **Innocent IV, Lyon (1245)**

The next general council was convened in 1245 in Lyon.<sup>47</sup> Pope Innocent IV opened the assembly with a sermon on the reform and the defence of the Church against its enemies reminiscent of the oratory of his predecessors. Matthew Paris indicates in his *Chronica majora* that Innocent IV also made a Christ-like performance.<sup>48</sup> Some scholars assume that Matthew was relying on the *Brevis nota* (a sort of council protocol written by a member of the papal court) as the source for his information.<sup>49</sup> However, this text contains a slightly different version of Innocent IV's sermon.<sup>50</sup> It is, therefore, more likely that Matthew drew from other texts and oral reports of participants of the council.<sup>51</sup> Typically, Matthew Paris rearranged his material in order to 'illustrate and convey deeper moral and political truths'.<sup>52</sup> This might also be the case with his report of the Council of Lyon, which seems to be part of his partisan depiction of Innocent IV.

If we believe Matthew Paris, the pope preached about a theme taken from the First Lamentation of Jeremiah (1.12): '[...] all you who pass by look and see if there is any sorrow like my sorrow'.<sup>53</sup> Some scholars assume that 'such words conjured up images of the desolate city of Jerusalem' and that 'the need to aid the Franks in the East was a major topic of the sermon'.<sup>54</sup> However, Lamentations 1.12 was commonly used as the theme for sermons on Good Friday, rather than for preaching the crusade.<sup>55</sup> According to the *Chronica majora*, Innocent's address contained several such references to Easter and the Passion of Christ. Matthew Paris reports that the pope spoke quite elaborately about his 'five pains' (*quinque dolores*) and compared these

‘pains’ with the ‘Five Holy Wounds’, which were a major topic of the *imitatio Christi* in the later Middle Ages.<sup>56</sup> In alluding to Christ’s suffering by crying and sighing, his performance was apparently similar to that of Urban II (as recorded in the chronicle of Baudri of Bourgueil).

Since the *Brevis nota* does not confirm all aspects of this narrative, there is some reason to question the report in the *Chronica majora*. Both sources indicate that the pope gave a sermon on the ‘five pains’ which were used as a metaphor for the five points to be discussed at the council.<sup>57</sup> Matthew Paris and the protocol also agree in identifying the conflict with the German emperor as the last of these ‘pains’.<sup>58</sup> Yet there are certain differences between the *Chronica majora* and the *Brevis nota*. First, the protocol records a different theme of Innocent’s sermon. It is a verse that does not belong to a special liturgical occasion, namely, Psalm 93.19: ‘When the cares of my heart are many, your consolations cheer my soul’. Second, the two reports differ in their explanation of the ‘Five Wounds’ and the points of business on the council’s agenda. According to the *Brevis nota*, these were: the discipline of the clergy and the threats facing Christendom from the Muslims, the Greeks, the Tartars, and the emperor. Other sources and most scholars agree in viewing this as the program of the First Council of Lyon.<sup>59</sup> As shown above, Church reform was a permanent item on the agenda of councils. The same is true of the call for a crusade, which was an important topic in Lyon since the Khwarizmians had recently devastated Jerusalem. Innocent IV also had to deal with the Greeks who were attempting to regain their former realm and threatening the Latin Empire of Constantinople. At the same time, the Tartars had invaded Hungary. Last but not least, the pope’s conflict with Frederick II was surely discussed at the council.

Matthew Paris, however, records a different structure in Innocent’s opening sermon.<sup>60</sup> According to him, the pope dealt first with the Tartars, second with the Greeks, and third with heretics in northern Italy, denoting the latter as *Patarini*, *Burgari*, and *Joviani*. These heretical groups also feature in other sections of Matthew’s chronicle but are not mentioned in the report of the *Brevis nota*.<sup>61</sup> Consequently, they may be seen as a recurrent motif of the *Chronica majora*, rather than as a topic of the papal sermon. Nonetheless, both sources concur in the remaining items on the agenda dealing with the problems in the Holy Land and with the emperor. In his version of this part of the sermon, Matthew Paris even cites the *Bulla depositionis* that Innocent IV issued in July 1245 deposing Frederick II.<sup>62</sup> As we can see, the chronicler obviously had some information about Innocent’s opening speech in Lyon, but also used other material besides this to reconstruct the papal sermon.

It is striking that Innocent IV is depicted in the conciliar report of the *Chronica majora* as a Christ-like preacher alluding to Easter and the Passion. In general, Matthew Paris’ characterization of the pope is pointedly negative.<sup>63</sup> He heavily criticized Innocent’s nepotism, his mendacity, and his lust for power. For instance, the chronicler explains that the pope’s conflict with the emperor was about political influence in northern Italy and

had nothing to do with religion.<sup>64</sup> The *Chronica majora* report that Innocent refused to meet Frederick II on the grounds that he did not want to die as a martyr ('nec me sentio aptum aut paratum martirio').<sup>65</sup> There is an obvious contradiction between this characterization and the sermon given at the First Council of Lyon. When the pope opened the assembly, he spoke about the 'Five Holy Wounds' of Jesus, yet he was not willing to die for his belief. In the next chapters of the *Chronica majora*, Matthew tells his readers how, as it turned out, Innocent IV nevertheless ended up suffering like Jesus. According to this source, the pope planned in 1254 to damage the memory of the bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste, who was one of his most prominent enemies in England.<sup>66</sup> If we believe the *Chronica majora*, Innocent had the intention of removing his bones from their grave in Lincoln cathedral.<sup>67</sup> After he had made this decision, Robert Grosseteste is said to have appeared to Innocent IV in a dream and urged the pope to give up this plan, threatening him and even injuring him with his crosier (*baculus pastoralis*). As he awoke the next morning, Innocent IV apparently complained about feeling as if he had been pierced by a lance, although, as he explicitly stated, this weapon had not been used: 'heu, heu, quantum latus doleo, sine lancea gemo lanceatus'.<sup>68</sup> Innocent was still suffering from this injury when he went to Naples, where he died in December.<sup>69</sup> Matthew Paris emphasizes that one of the reasons for the pope's death was the wound that Grosseteste had inflicted on him.<sup>70</sup>

The term *lanceatus*, which the pope used to describe his pain, refers typically to the last moment of the Passion, when a Roman soldier pierced Jesus' side with a lance.<sup>71</sup> The *Chronica majora* mention not only that Innocent IV died like Christ, but also report that he had claimed to be Christ's substitute in the *Bulla depositionis* ('nos [...] cum Iesu Christi vices [...] teneamus [...]').<sup>72</sup> However, in stressing the pope's greed for power and his refusal to die as a martyr, Matthew Paris casts doubt on this claim to Christ-like authority. When Innocent IV refers to the Passion, it is apparent that this is pure rhetoric. It seems, rather, that the pope was punished for his hypocrisy in suffering one of the 'Holy Wounds'. Thus, he was again imitating Christ in a false way: while the fatal stab of the lance marks the final moment of the Passion, it is only the beginning of Innocent's suffering. The council report in the *Chronica majora* is obviously part of a complex story about an unworthy Vicar of Christ. In contrast, the *Brevis nota* confirms that the pope preached about the 'Five Holy Wounds', but makes no mention of him alluding to the Passion nor of a Christ-like performance. There is consequently good reason to assume that *imitatio Christi* played a significantly lesser role in Innocent's synodal sermon than in the oratory of other popes.

### **Gregory X, Lyon (1274)**

In 1274, Pope Gregory X convoked a general council for the purpose of organizing a new crusade, resolving the schism with the Greek Church,

and reforming the Roman Church.<sup>73</sup> The pope had similar intentions as his predecessors and also used a similar sort of ‘imitative’ oratory. The most important source for what he said there is a protocol written by an anonymous member of the papal court, the *Ordinatio concilii*, which focuses particularly on the ceremonies and liturgy of the Second Council of Lyon.<sup>74</sup> We learn from the *Ordinatio* that Gregory X typically preached sitting down on the papal throne, the *faldestorium*.<sup>75</sup> At the beginning of the council, the pope quoted Jesus’ words before the Last Supper, namely, *Desiderio desideravi* (Luke 22.15). We do not know anything about the sermon’s content, but the pope obviously used the same biblical theme as Innocent III at the opening of the Fourth Lateran Council. After this *sermo*, Gregory X made a short break before he held an *allocutio* explaining the aforementioned purposes of the council (*subsidium terre sancte; unio Grecorum; reformatio morum*).<sup>76</sup>

There is another account of the opening ceremony in the autobiography of King James of Aragon, the *Book of Deeds*.<sup>77</sup> The king personally participated in the assembly and dictated his memories soon thereafter to a scribe in vernacular Catalan. According to this source, Gregory’s first sermon focused on the crusade, a subject which is also mentioned as one of the topics in the *Ordinatio concilii*. In order to organize help for the Holy Land, the pope wished to impose a new tax on all clerics. These plans were not popular and Gregory X sought to gain support for them by reminding his audience that it was God who had given them all their possessions. For this reason, he said, it seemed to be right that they ‘should give to Him not all, but a share of what was ... [theirs], in order to redeem that Holy Place held by His enemies’.<sup>78</sup> The pope called this an ‘exchange with Our Lord, since He had died so lovingly and suffered passion for us’.<sup>79</sup> The next day, Gregory X gave another sermon on the crusade that only is recorded in the *Book of Deeds*.<sup>80</sup> In this address, the pontiff again asked for money, but also for military engagement in the Holy Land. He reminded his audience that God had ‘given so much honour to us and had wished to die for mankind’.<sup>81</sup> It would consequently be ‘right that we should do so much for Him as to go to His aid in that place where they held Him captive’. We should make ‘our love correspond to His love, which had cost Him so dear that He wished to die for it’.<sup>82</sup> As we can see, Gregory was exhorting his audience to follow Christ. By making a sacrifice, such as paying crusading taxes or fighting in the East, they could imitate Jesus on the Cross – at least in some respects. Responding to the papal sermon, King James of Aragon declared his intention to take the Cross.<sup>83</sup> The rest of the audience remained, however, silent and even as the pope prompted the envoy of the French King and some Templars, he received no answer.<sup>84</sup> Instead, the listeners began discussing this issue among themselves and eventually rejected the papal crusade plans. Thus, the monition to imitate Christ seems not to have had the desired effect on the assembly.

Other problems occurred when the union with the Orthodox Church was discussed. In advance, there had been protracted negotiations between

Gregory X and the Greeks which seemed to have ended with great success. According to the *Ordinatio concilii*, the Byzantine embassy was solemnly received at the fourth session of the council.<sup>85</sup> In a sermon given on this occasion, the pope announced that the Greeks had accepted papal supremacy – a central point in the conflict. Conceding that many might believe that they had done so for purely political reasons, Gregory assured his listeners that this had been a free decision. At the end of the session, the declarations of the Byzantine emperor, his heir to the throne, and the Orthodox episcopacy were then read aloud. Scholars have already pointed out that these statements actually fell short of acknowledging the supremacy of the pope.<sup>86</sup> It was consequently doubtful if the Churches had indeed been reconciled. In any case, the session ended with a solemn sermon by Gregory X. The *Ordinatio concilii* reports how the pope repeated the performance of the opening ritual: he sat down on the papal throne and preached on *Desiderio desideravi*.<sup>87</sup> Again, this source reveals nothing of the content of the sermon, but the theme itself indicates that the pope's oratory was 'imitative' in several respects. First, the pope imitated Christ by quoting his words before the Last Supper. Secondly, since these same words had been used by Innocent III, Gregory X was also imitating his predecessor. And, last but not least, he was repeating the theme of his own opening sermon and thus imitating himself. The autobiography of King James also reports a sort of 'imitative' oratory. According to this source, the pope held two speeches on the crusade with similar arguments, both referring to *imitatio Christi*.

## Conclusion

As we can see, the imitation of Christ was used to express but also to challenge papal authority in many different ways. The motif was first mentioned in sources dealing with Urban II and his call for crusade. Several chroniclers describe the pope as a powerful preacher at Clermont whose sermons on following Jesus motivated warriors to go to the Holy Land. In a contrary sense, Calixtus II invoked the example of Christ as peacemaker. This turn of the motif remained, however, an exception in papal rhetoric. At the end of the Council of Reims, the same pope made substantial concessions to the assembly but asserted his authority as head of the Church in a Eucharistic sermon. Calixtus' rhetorical strategy of linking Church reform to *imitatio Christi* became a commonplace in papal conciliar sermons. When he opened the Fourth Lateran Council about one hundred years later, Innocent III was in a much stronger position than Calixtus had been. Nevertheless, he followed the oratorical tradition of his predecessors. In a sermon on the imitation of Christ, he dealt with the crusade, Church reform, and the Eucharist. Some chroniclers drew a link between this speech and Innocent's death some months after the council. Through this analogy, they stressed the pope's authority as Vicar of Christ who had followed Jesus in words and deeds.

When Innocent IV preached at the First Council of Lyon, he did not put as much emphasis on *imitatio Christi* as most scholars assume. While all sources agree that the pope spoke about the ‘Five Holy Wounds’, only Matthew Paris mentions the pope’s ‘imitative’ performance. In contrast to chroniclers writing about Innocent III, Matthew’s intention was not to show another perfect Vicar of Christ. Rather, he described Innocent IV as a preacher whom God had punished for his hypocritical claim of Christ-like power. The last pope who referred to the Passion in his synodal sermons was Gregory X. Like Calixtus II, he used this motif in situations in which his authority was challenged. However, Gregory X alluded not only to the imitation of Christ but also to Innocent III and thus also invoked an image of the culmination of papal power in the Middle Ages.

## Notes

- 1 This is the revised English version of my ‘Autorität und *Imitatio Christi*: Die Konzilspredigten Innozenz’ III. (1215), Innozenz’ IV. (1245) und Gregors X. (1274)’, in *Autorità e consenso: Regnum e monarchia nell’europa medievale*, ed. by Maria Pia Alberzoni and Roberto Lambertini (Milan, 2017), pp. 181–97. See also now my book *Solo sermone. Überlieferung und Deutung politischer Ansprachen der Päpste im Mittelalter* (Wiesbaden, 2022).
- 2 See in general on *imitatio Christi*: Giles Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought: The Interpretation of Mary and Martha, the Ideal of the Imitation of Christ, the Orders of Society* (New York, 1995).
- 3 On his biography see Alfons Becker, *Papst Urban II. (1088–1099)*, 3 vols (Stuttgart, 1964–2012).
- 4 *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum: The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, ed. by Rosalind Hill (London, 1962). See Jean Flori, *Chroniqueurs et propagandistes: Introduction critique aux sources de la Première croisade* (Geneva, 2010), pp. 67–82; William J. Purkis, ‘Elite and Popular Perceptions of *Imitatio Christi* in Twelfth-Century Crusade Spirituality’, in *Elite and Popular Religion*, ed. by Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory, *Studies in Church History*, 42 (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 54–64 (pp. 54–55).
- 5 *Gesta Francorum*, pp. 1–2.
- 6 See Constable, pp. 145–46 and 1 Peter 2.21 ‘In hoc enim vocati estis: quia et Christus passus est pro nobis, vobis relinquens exemplum ut sequamini vestigia eius [my emphasis].’
- 7 See on this problem the discussion of Flori, pp. 68–73.
- 8 See on these chronicles Flori, pp. 107–69.
- 9 *The Historia Iherosolimitana of Robert the Monk*, ed. by D. Kempf and M. G. Bull (Woodbridge, 2013).
- 10 *Ibid.*, pp. 5–8. See Georg Strack, ‘The Sermon of Urban II in Clermont and the Tradition of Papal Oratory’, *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 56 (2012), 30–45 (pp. 34–36).
- 11 *The Historia Ierosolimitana of Baldric of Bourgueil*, ed. by Steven Biddlecombe (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 6–10.
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 9.
- 13 Strack, ‘Sermon of Urban II’, pp. 36–38.
- 14 Mary Stroll, *Calixtus II (1119–1124): A Pope Born to Rule* (Leiden, 2004), pp. 367–82; Robert Somerville, ‘The Councils of Pope Calixtus II: Reims 1119’,



- in *Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. by Stephan Kuttner and Kenneth Pennington (Vatican City, 1980), pp. 35–50.
- 15 *Historia aeclesiastica: The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. by Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford, 1978), VI: 256–58.
- 16 *Historia aeclesiastica*, VI: 260. See Everett U. Crosby, *The King's Bishops: The Politics of Patronage in England and Normandy, 1066–1216* (New York, 2013), pp. 225–26.
- 17 *Historia aeclesiastica*, VI: 254.
- 18 *Ibid.*, VI: 262.
- 19 Somerville, pp. 44–45.
- 20 *Hessonis scholastici relatio de concilio Remensi*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum saeculis XI et XII conscripti*, ed. by Ernst Dümmler, vol. III (Hannover, 1897), pp. 21–28. See Stanley A. Chodorow, 'Ecclesiastical Politics and the Ending of the Investiture Contest: The Papal Election of 1119 and the Negotiations of Mouzon', *Speculum*, 46 (1971), 613–40; Mary Stroll, 'Calixtus II: A Reinterpretation of his Election and the End of the Investiture contest', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 3 (1980), 1–53.
- 21 *Hessonis scholastici relatio*, pp. 24–25. Cf. *Historia aeclesiastica*, VI: 262.
- 22 *Hessonis scholastici relatio*, p. 27. The English translation follows W. L. North: <[www.acad.carleton.edu/curricular/MARS/Hesso.pdf](http://www.acad.carleton.edu/curricular/MARS/Hesso.pdf)> [accessed 30 August 2021].
- 23 See Constable, pp. 192–96.
- 24 Chodorow, pp. 636–37.
- 25 See I. S. Robinson, 'The Institutions of the Church, 1073–1216', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. by David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith, IV.1: *c.1024–c.1198* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 368–460 (p. 398).
- 26 Stroll, 'A Reinterpretation', p. 26.
- 27 John C. Moore, *Pope Innocent III (1160–1216): To Root Up and to Plant* (Notre Dame, IN, 2009); Antonio García y García and Alberto Melloni, 'Concilium Lateranense IV (1215)', in *The General Councils of Latin Christendom*, ed. by Antonio García y García, Peter Gemeinhardt, Georg Gresser, Thomas M. Izbicki, Atria A. Larson, Alberto Melloni, Jürgen Miethke, Kenneth Pennington, Burkhard Roberg, Riccardo Saccenti and Phillip H. Stump, II.1: *From Constantinople IV to Pavia–Siena (869–1424)*, Conciliorum oecumenicorum generaliumque decreta, 2.1 (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 151–204.
- 28 While I was preparing this chapter, my critical edition of this sermon was published in Strack, *Solo sermone*, pp. 297–310. However, the following analysis is based on the commonly used edition printed in *Patrologiae cursus completus sive bibliotheca universalis ... series latina prior*, ed. by J.-P. Migne, vol. CCXVII (Paris, 1889), cols 673–80. See Wilhelm Imkamp, 'Sermo ultimus, quem fecit Dominus Innocentius papa tercius in Lateranensi concilio generali', in *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, 70 (1975), 149–79; John C. Moore, 'The Sermons of Pope Innocent III', *Römische Historische Mitteilungen*, 36 (1994), 81–142 (p. 133 n. 78); Pope Innocent III, *Between God and Man: Six Sermons on the Priestly Office*, trans. with an intro. by Corinne J. Vause and Frank C. Gardener (Washington, DC, 2004), pp. 51–63.
- 29 *Patrologiae cursus completus*, CCXVII: 673. On the structure of a sermo modernus see Siegfried Wenzel, *Medieval Artes Praedicandi: A Synthesis of Scholastic Sermon Structure* (Toronto, 2015).
- 30 *Patrologiae cursus completus*, CCXVII: 673; translation in Pope Innocent III, p. 55.
- 31 *Patrologiae cursus completus*, CCXVII: 673–75.

- 32 Ibid., col. 675. See Brenda Bolton, “‘Qui fidelis est in minimo’: The Importance of Innocent III’s Gift List”, in *Pope Innocent III and his World*, ed. by John C. Moore (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 113–40 (p. 127).
- 33 *Patrologiae cursus completus*, CCXVII: 675–76. See Brenda Bolton, “Serpent in the Dust: Sparrow on the Housetop”: Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Circle of Pope Innocent III”, in *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History*, ed. by Robert Swanson, Studies in Church History, 36 (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 154–80 (p. 155).
- 34 *Patrologiae cursus completus*, CCXVII: 676–78.
- 35 Ibid., cols 678–80.
- 36 Régis Rech, ‘Richer of Senones’, in *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. by Graeme Dunphy (Leiden, 2010), pp. 1277–78.
- 37 *Gesta Senoniensis ecclesiae*, ed. by Georg Waitz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, 25 (Hannover, 1880), pp. 249–345 (p. 300): ‘In qua synodo dictus Innocentius papa sermonem proprio ore protulit, ita incipiens: “Desiderio desideravi ...”. In quo sermone inter ceteros tractatus et disputationes [de] fidei conservatione, de statu ecclesiarum et personarum eas regentium liquide prosecutus, limpidius de obitu suo, et quod ei iam super hoc Deus signum fecerat in bonum, mirabiliter pertractavit.’
- 38 Graeme Small, ‘Jacobus de Guisia’, in *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. by Dunphy, pp. 898–99.
- 39 *Annales historiae illustrium principum Hanoniae*, ed. by Ernst Sackur, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, 30.1 (Hannover, 1896), pp. 44–334 (p. 272).
- 40 Maureen Boulton, ‘Wauquelin, Jean’, in *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. by Dunphy, p. 1496.
- 41 Jacques de Guise, *Le tiers volume des croniques annalles de Haynnau*, trans. by Jean de Wauquelin (Paris, 1532), fol. 188<sup>r</sup>.
- 42 *La Librairie des ducs de Bourgogne: Manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, ed. by Bernard Bousmann, Tania van Hemelryck and Céline van Hoorebeeck, vol. IV (Turnhout, 2009), p. 162.
- 43 Brenda Bolton, ‘A Show with a Meaning: Innocent III’s Approach to the Fourth Lateran Council’, in eadem, *Innocent III: Studies on Papal Authority and Pastoral Care* (Aldershot, 1995), pp. 53–67 (p. 62, n. 51); Pope Innocent III, p. 53, n. 6.
- 44 Salvatore Sibilila, *Innocenzo III, 1198–1216* (Rome, 1951), pp. 328–29; Imkamp, pp. 155, 159.
- 45 Michele Maccarrone, *Studi su Innocenzo III* (Padua, 1972), pp. 160–61. On other popes suffering from malaria, see Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *Der Leib des Papstes: Eine Theologie der Hinfälligkeit*, trans. by A. Wildermann (Munich, 1997), pp. 167–68.
- 46 Paravicini Bagliani, pp. 180–82.
- 47 Atria A. Larson and Kenneth Pennington, ‘Concilium Lugdunense I (1245)’, in *The General Councils of Latin Christendom*, ed. by García y García et al., pp. 205–45.
- 48 *Chronica majora*, ed. by Henry Richards Luard, 7 vols, Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores [Rolls Series], 57 (London, 1872–83), IV. See Lisa M. Ruch, ‘Matthew Paris’, in *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. by Dunphy, pp. 1093–95; Karl Schnith, *England in einer sich wandelnden Welt (1189–1259): Studien zu Roger Wendover und Matthäus Paris* (Stuttgart, 1974); Hans-Eberhard Hilpert, *Kaiser- und Papstbriefe in den Chronica majora des Matthaeus Paris* (Stuttgart, 1981); Björn Weiler, ‘Matthew Paris on the Writing of History’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 35 (2009), 254–78.
- 49 On this problem, see the remarks in *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum*, II: 1198–1272, ed. by Ludwig Weiland, Monumenta Germaniae

- Historica, Leges, 4.2 (Hannover, 1896), p. 513 and Burkhard Roberg, 'Zur Überlieferung und Interpretation der Hauptquelle des Lugdunense I von 1245', *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum*, 22 (1990), 31–67 (p. 34).
- 50 Hilpert, pp. 192–93.
- 51 Hilpert, pp. 200–04; Weiler, p. 265.
- 52 Weiler, p. 271.
- 53 *Chronica majora*, IV: 434.
- 54 David Abulafia, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor* (London, 1988), p. 369.
- 55 The *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150–1350*, ed. by Johann B. Schneyer, XI: *Index der Textanfänge M–Z*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters: Texte und Untersuchungen, 43 (Münster, 1990), p. 101 lists 61 sermons on Lamentations 1.12 most of which were composed for Good Friday.
- 56 *Chronica majora*, IV: 434 'Et [papa] satis eleganter sermonem continuans, comparavit *quinque dolores* suos maximos *quinque plagis* Crucifixi [my emphasis]'. See Sheryl Frances Chen, 'Guerric's Sermons for Palm Sunday: *Imitatio Christi* and Entrance into the Wounds', *The American Benedictine Review*, 54 (2003), 269–90 (p. 272).
- 57 *Constitutiones*, II: 514.
- 58 *Ibid.*, p. 513; *Chronica majora*, IV: 434–35.
- 59 Carl J. von Hefele, *Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux: Nouvelle traduction Française faite sur la deuxième édition Allemande corrigée et augmentée de notes critiques et bibliographiques par Henri Leclercq*, vol. V.2 (Paris, 1913), pp. 1637–38; Philippe Pouzet, 'Le pape Innocent IV à Lyon: Le concile de 1245', *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 15 (1929), 281–318 (pp. 292–93); Wolfgang Stürner, *Friedrich II., 1194–250*, 2 vols (1992–2000; republished Darmstadt, 2009 as a single volume), I: 534–35.
- 60 *Chronica majora*, IV: 434–35.
- 61 Roberg, pp. 50–51.
- 62 *Chronica majora*, IV: 435. Cf. *Bulla depositionis*, ed. by Larson and Pennington in their 'Concilium Lugdunense I (1245)', pp. 220–21.
- 63 Schnith, pp. 148–54; Weiler, pp. 273–74.
- 64 *Chronica majora*, IV: 394, p. 406. See Schnith, p. 110.
- 65 *Chronica majora*, IV: 437. See Schnith, pp. 151–52.
- 66 James McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 43–50, 62–75.
- 67 *Chronica majora*, V: 429–30.
- 68 *Ibid.*, p. 430.
- 69 *Ibid.*, pp. 470–72 on the pope's death and his punishment in hell. See: Schnith, pp. 152–53; Weiler, pp. 273–75.
- 70 *Chronica majora*, V: 470–71.
- 71 Chen, p. 287.
- 72 *Chronica majora*, V: 454–55. Cf. *Bulla depositionis*, ed. by Larson and Pennington in their 'Concilium Lugdunense I (1245)', p. 221.
- 73 Burkhard Roberg, 'Concilium Lugdunense II (1274)', in *The General Councils of Latin Christendom*, ed. by García y García et al., pp. 247–358; Burkhard Roberg, *Das zweite Konzil von Lyon (1274)* (Paderborn, 1990); Sylvia Schein, *Fideles crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274–1314* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 36–44.
- 74 *Il concilio di Lione (1274) secondo la Ordinatio concilii generalis Ludgunensis: Edizione del testo e note*, ed. by Antonio Franchi, Studi e testi Francescani, 33 (Rome, 1965).
- 75 *Il concilio di Lione*, pp. 68–69, 72.
- 76 *Ibid.*, pp. 72–73.

- 77 *The Book of Deeds of James I of Aragon: A Translation of the Medieval Catalan Llibre dels Fets*, trans. by Damian Smith and Helena Buffery (Ashgate, 2003). See Jaume Aurell, *Authoring the Past: History, Autobiography, and Politics in Medieval Catalonia* (Chicago, IL, 2012).
- 78 *The Book of Deeds*, pp. 361–62.
- 79 *Ibid.*, p. 362.
- 80 *The Book of Deeds*, pp. 362–63. See Palmer Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda* (Amsterdam, 1940), pp. 227–34.
- 81 *The Book of Deeds*, p. 362.
- 82 *Ibid.*
- 83 *Ibid.*, p. 363. See Suzanne F. Cawsey, *Kingship and Propaganda: Royal Eloquence and the Crown of Aragon c. 1200–1450* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 61–63, 139, 165.
- 84 *The Book of Deeds*, p. 363–64. See Antony Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land: The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 14–15.
- 85 *Il concilio di Lione*, pp. 85–92.
- 86 Roberg, *Das zweite Konzil von Lyon*, pp. 227–30.
- 87 *Il concilio di Lione*, p. 91.

### 3 John XXII as a Wavering Preacher

#### The Pope's Sermons and the Norms of Preaching in the Beatific Vision Controversy

*Yuichi Akae*

##### Introduction

The beatific vision is a state in heaven where the souls of those who are saved enjoy the immediate knowledge of God. In the present life, human beings can only have an indirect, mediated knowledge of God. The biblical verse most relevant to this idea, 1 Corinthians 13.12, states: 'We see now through a glass, darkly; but then face to face.' So in heaven, when the person now purified sees God face to face, they find perfect happiness, that is, the beatific vision. The term 'vision' signifies the unmediated, immediate knowledge of God.<sup>1</sup>

In a series of sermons, the first of which was delivered on the feast of All Saints (1 November) in 1331, Pope John XXII revealed his own ideas about the beatific vision, which significantly differed from what had become a general understanding. By this time, it was commonly considered that those who were saved attained heaven after being purified and before Judgement Day: when, after death, one is through purgatory and in heaven, the soul of that person sees God immediately. In his sermon, the pope instead put forward his theory that the saved had to wait until Judgement Day to attain the beatific vision. This sermon caused an uproar and a full-blown controversy ensued, lasting until 1334, when the pope, just before his own death, effectively retracted his position.<sup>2</sup>

The controversy involved many parties:<sup>3</sup> the Dominicans argued against the pope, mainly based on the standard opinion of Thomas Aquinas. The majority of Franciscans supported the pope, whose repudiation of the theory of Franciscan poverty in the 1320s drove its adherents, Michael of Cesena, William of Ockham, and others, from Avignon to Munich in 1328 to the protection offered by Ludwig of Bavaria, the 'Roman emperor'; not surprisingly they criticised the pope on the beatific vision, too. King Robert of Naples stepped in, and the king of France also intervened to help decide the matter, enlisting the university of Paris.<sup>4</sup>

The present study specifically focuses on the sermons delivered, and views on preaching expressed, in the course of the controversy, thereby providing new insights on the controversy. Unlike the vast majority of sermons of the period, much of the relevant sources have been edited: Marc Dykmans has

edited not only a series of sermons delivered by John XXII on the issue but also those by others including a sermon by the Carmelite friar Johannes Rubeus, who supported the pope.<sup>5</sup> The vehement sermon against the pope by the Dominican Thomas Waleys has been edited by Thomas Kaeppli, together with the records of his subsequent inquisitorial process.<sup>6</sup> However, previous discussions of these sources have necessarily and overwhelmingly focused on the immediate situations surrounding them and doctrinal issues in them. A shift of focus is seen in Isabel Iribarren's recent works, which emphasise 'a contrast between the genres in which the different opinions were expressed: the pope delivered his opinion in a set of sermons, whereas the masters determined their views in scholastic disputations'.<sup>7</sup> Still, even her articles deal mainly, if not entirely, with the theological ideas in John XXII's sermons.<sup>8</sup> Despite the obvious importance of doctrinal issues, there remain many questions to be asked about the sermons by the pope and those by others, both his supporters and critics. What form(s) do the pope's sermons on this issue take? Do they all share common characteristics, or are there significant differences? If there are, what are their implications? What are the pope's views of preaching/sermons, and those of others involved in the controversy? These issues are more significant than have been recognised in understanding the controversy.

Recent contributions in sermon studies have identified, as fruitful areas of exploration, views on preaching and the authority and office of preachers.<sup>9</sup> In her seminal article, Beverly Kienzle has identified preaching as a 'touchstone of orthodoxy' in the context of the late twelfth and the early thirteenth centuries, when the ideal of *vita apostolica* led to the rise of lay (and female) preaching and heretical preaching.<sup>10</sup> Disturbed not only by errors in doctrine but also by lack of attention to, or wilful disregard of, ecclesiastical authority, the Church attempted to regulate who could be allowed to preach, and was instrumental in the establishment of the mendicant orders as the vanguard of orthodox preaching. Kienzle's point proves valid, for example, in late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England, as Ian Forrest has shown in his exploration of how Lollard heresy was detected.<sup>11</sup>

The matter of preaching should then surely have been no less important in the pontificate of John XXII, especially when a pope, of all preachers, suddenly delivered in a sermon a message quite divergent from a common theological understanding within the Church. There were obviously serious doctrinal problems, but there was more to it than that. The 'pope delivered his opinion in a set of sermons',<sup>12</sup> but it is also true that each sermon delivered on each occasion was an event in itself. When the pope delivered his first sermon on beatific vision on All Saints' Day in 1331, that clearly caused quite a stir. It would not be a surprise if his second sermon delivered a month and a half later, on 15 December, bears signs that reflect the pope's own responses to that commotion. Those who heard his sermons, or read their written versions or reports, one of which was circulated by the pope himself, responded to those sermons not only concerning their

theological ideas but also the ways those ideas were expressed. As will be shown below, the second sermon displays features different from the first sermon, including a statement which would have shocked those who took the office of preaching seriously. These reactions can be clearly discerned in the statement of Thomas Waleys OP, who vehemently criticised the pope and his Franciscan supporters in a sermon on 17 January 1333, and was accused of heresy immediately after his preaching,<sup>13</sup> and William Ockham's treatise against John XXII.<sup>14</sup> Not only are they alarmed by theological messages the pope preached but also they share concerns about what preaching should be, and in their eyes, the pope's sermons on beatific vision significantly deviated from such norms. It is the contention of the present essay that the pope's sermons must be viewed against the norms of preaching shared among contemporary preachers.<sup>15</sup>

In order to understand contemporary ideas of what preaching was, who preachers were, and how preaching should be done, it is useful to look at *artes praedicandi*, manuals for sermon composition (which sometimes also deal with delivery).<sup>16</sup> With the knowledge of the norms of preaching of this period, it becomes clear that there are significant irregularities in some of the pope's sermons, which stood out as such for trained preachers of the day. Identifying those and their implications is crucial for a deeper understanding of the controversy.

In what follows, the dominant definition of preaching is first described, using *artes praedicandi* and other works. This is followed by an analysis of the form and characteristics of John XXII's sermons on the subject, and it will be shown that there are major differences between his first sermon and those which were delivered after that. This chapter then turns to the reactions of Thomas Waleys and William Ockham towards John's sermons, mentioned above. Finally, it provides an explanation for the serious nature of the pope's trouble with preaching.

### **Contemporary Norms of Preaching**

Although the main parts of *artes praedicandi* deal with how to construct a sermon in the form of a modern sermon (*sermo modernus*), it is common for them to discuss the general issues of preaching at the beginning.<sup>17</sup> The two contemporary and most comprehensive *artes praedicandi* are the *Forma praedicandi* of Robert of Basevorn (written in 1322) and *De modo componendi sermones* by Thomas Waleys OP (written c. 1336).<sup>18</sup> I have previously examined the preaching techniques expounded by Robert of Basevorn, comparing those used in the sermons of the English Austin Friar John Waldeby (most active in the 1340s–60s), and have established that Basevorn's *ars* was not a speculative exploration detached from the contemporary practice of sermon composition, but a treatise which reflects exactly that.<sup>19</sup> Here I quote from Basevorn's work rather than Waleys', whose statement at the end of his sermon against John XXII's doctrine on the beatific vision will be shown below to agree with the former's words.<sup>20</sup>

Chapter 1 of the *Forma praedicandi* provides the definition of preaching:

First, we must show what preaching (*praedicatio*) is. Preaching is the persuasion of many, within a moderate length of time, to meritorious conduct. For, when some determine questions, even theological questions, such determination (*determinatio*) is not preaching because it is not persuasion by intent, but rather an investigation of truth. When one exhorts one person or two to goodness, that is not properly preaching, but admonition or exhortation or the like.<sup>21</sup>

It is important to note that preaching is defined in opposition to two other acts: *determinatio* (determination) and *monitio vel collatio* (admonition or exhortation). First, preaching is a persuasion, not a place for investigating truth, which is *determinatio*. Second, preaching has to be delivered to many people, not just one or two people; in other words, it is necessarily ‘public’ (*publice praedicare*), as opposed to private teaching, which is *monitio* or *collatio*.<sup>22</sup> The same pair of ideas, as well as the definition of preaching itself, can be found in Alan de Lille’s *Art of Preaching* (*Ars praedicatoria*) in the late twelfth century, the first work of the genre *artes praedicandi*:

Preaching is a clear and public instruction in faith and behavior (*manifesta et publica instructio morum et fidei*), whose purpose is the forming of men; it derives from the path of reason and from the fountainhead of the ‘authorities’.<sup>23</sup>

Pope Innocent III also expressed the same idea in one of his letters, and, as shall be seen below, this was shared by other contemporary preachers and theologians.<sup>24</sup>

Who could be entrusted with the office of preaching? The *Forma praedicandi* deals with the question in its next two chapters.<sup>25</sup> Two groups are mentioned: preachers by office (*ex officio*) and preachers by commission (*ex commissione*), the former corresponding to the secular clergy, namely, ‘the pope, cardinals, bishops and those having the care of souls by ordinary jurisdiction’; the latter ‘the religious, constituted by privileges given to them’.<sup>26</sup> On the contrary,

[n]o lay person or the religious, unless permitted by a bishop or the pope, and no woman, no matter how learned or saintly, ought to preach. Nor is it enough for one to say that he was commissioned by God, unless he clearly proves this, for the heretics are wont to make this claim. [...the] Church legislator’s intention is to avoid teaching errors, and if such people preach indifferently, there is no doubt that they teach many errors.<sup>27</sup>

Thus, a preacher is given permission to preach because he is considered to be capable of avoiding teaching errors.

What kind of form should a proper sermon take? It suffices to say at this point that there has been a *de facto* consensus among highly educated



preachers that they would usually use the method of ‘modern’ sermon composition (*sermo modernus*), which began to develop in the second half of the twelfth century and which evolved further with the arrival of mendicant friars and university to become a more formal art.<sup>28</sup> A modern sermon elaborates a *thema*, an individual line from Scripture, often dividing it into several parts, while the ‘ancient’ form (*sermo antiquus*), which had existed before *sermo modernus* but continued to be used if less frequently, takes a form of running commentary of an entire passage of scripture.<sup>29</sup>

### **John XXII’s Sermons on the Beatific Vision**

It is now appropriate to examine the pope’s sermons on the beatific vision. It has been considered that there were six occasions when the pope preached on the doctrine: (1) 1 November 1331 (All Saints’ Day); (2) 15 December 1331 (Third Sunday in Advent); (3) 5 January 1332 (Vigil of the Epiphany); (4) 2 February 1332 (Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary/Candlemas); (5) 25 March 1332 or 1333 (Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary); and (6) 28 May 1332 or 13 May 1333 (Ascension Day).<sup>30</sup>

In what follows I examine sermons 1 and 2 because there is a crucial difference between these two which demonstrates John XXII as a wavering preacher. Also, of these six occasions, the sermons in early 1332 (nos 3–5) have been preserved in part through the writings of the Munich circles, most notably William Ockham’s, under the protection of Louis IV, Holy Roman emperor, who had rejected papal authority over political matters, but it is wrong to dismiss those three sermons, which, as I briefly argue below, provide a valuable insight.

As I stated earlier, each sermon is an event in itself, but it is also true that many of those who were involved in the controversy – Waleys and Ockham, for example – were not necessarily present at those sermons. They might have heard about them from those present, but it is more likely that they ‘read’ the reports of John’s sermons, as Ockham quotes them in his treatise. As an entry of the papal register shows, the pope himself made sure that the text of at least two of his sermons (*sermones*) was transcribed and circulated.<sup>31</sup> The extant manuscripts containing the texts do not necessarily provide explicit information about their circumstances, including location and audience, but as shall be seen, the rhetorical structure of the text makes it clear that they are sermons.

#### ***John XXII’s Sermon I***

The first sermon on the beatific vision delivered on All Saints’ Day (November 1) in 1331 adopts the ‘modern’ form, which begins with a *thema*, a single biblical verse (1 Mach. 2.51). The following quotation is its introductory part of the sermon, presented here in a layout which renders its components more easily discernible than in a more traditional editorial format.

The *thema* is marked in italics (as is often the case with biblical texts) and in bold (because a *thema*, the base text of a sermon, is more important than other biblical texts used as proof text):<sup>32</sup>

***Mementote operum patrum quae fecerunt in generationibus suis, et accipietis gloriam magnam et nomen aeternum.*** 1 Mach. 2[.51].

Beatus Bernardus in quodam sermone praesentis sollemnitatis dicit sic: “Fidelis sermo et in omni acceptione dignus”, ut quos sollemni veneratione prosequimur, et simili conversatione consequamur; et quos sanctissimos praedicamus, ad eorum beatitudinem tota aviditate curramus; et quorum delectamur praeconiis, eorum patrociniis sublevemur’.<sup>33</sup>

Ad hoc autem quod ista possimus consequi [h]ortamur in verbis propositis, ut sanctorum patrum, qui nos praecesserunt, opera virtuosa ad memoriam reducamus; nam aliter non sciremus eorum opera imitari.

Et ideo in verbis propositis tanguntur duo, quae consueverunt hominem movere ad aliquid operandum.

Consuevit enim moveri ad aliquod opus operandum aliquis vel propter operis dignitatem, vel propter operis utilitatem, et ista duo tanguntur in verbis nostri thematis.

Tangitur enim operis dignitas, cum dicitur: ***Mementote operum patrum quae fecerunt in generationibus suis,***

secundo evidens utilitas cum subditur: ***Et accipietis gloriam et nomen aeternum.***

***And call to remembrance the works of the fathers, which they have done in their generations: and you shall receive great glory, and an everlasting name:*** 1 Mach. 2[.51].

Blessed Bernard says thus in a certain sermon for this feast, “A faithful saying and worthy of all acception” [1 Tim. 4.9] as we pursue them in solemn veneration, and we follow them in a similar manner, and we preach those holiest men and we hurry with keen desire to their beatitude. We are delighted with praising them and we would be assisted by their protection.

Concerning the fact that we could obtain these [glory and an everlasting name], however, I exhort, based on the proposed words, that we should commit to memory virtuous works of the holy fathers who preceded us. For, otherwise we would not know how to imitate their works.

For that reason, in the proposed words there are two points, which have accustomed a human to move to do something. For instance, a human has been accustomed to be moved to do some work for others, either

because of the honour of such work, or  
 because of the usefulness of such work;  
 and these two points are mentioned in the words of our *thema*.

For, [first] the honour of such work, is mentioned, when it is said: ***And call to remembrance the works of the fathers, which they have done in their generations;***

secondly, the clear usefulness [of such work] is mentioned, when thus added at the end: ***and you shall receive [great] glory, and an everlasting name.***

In this quotation, it is clear that the pope follows the standard procedure of ‘modern sermons’ of this period: he begins with a *thema*, followed by a prothema, quoting 1 Timothy 4.9 and Bernard’s sermon; two ‘distinctions’ (*propter operis dignitatem* and *propter operis utilitatem*), corresponding to two divided parts of the *thema*. As has been explored by Trottmann and others, he extensively quotes St Bernard and St Augustine as well as biblical passages, to support his argument. The point here is that in this sermon the pope is authoritative and sure of what he is teaching.

### ***John XXII’s Sermon II***

A month and a half after his first sermon, the pope delivered his second, and by far the longest, sermon on the Third Sunday in Advent of the same year (15 December 1331).<sup>34</sup> He begins the sermon in a simpler way:

***Gaudete semper in Domino, iterum dico, gaudete:*** Phil. 4[.4].

Karissimi, sicut scitis, sancta mater Ecclesia facit et recolit memoriam isto tempore de duplici adventu Domini nostri Jesu Christi, videlicet de adventu in carnem et de adventu ad iudicium finale, qui adventus venturus est in fine saeculi. De illo ultimo adventu facit mentionem in prima dominica sancta mater Ecclesia;

de primo vero in secunda dominica istius temporis, et quia de quolibet istorum adventuum nobis parata est magna materia gaudii, ideo hodierna dominica sancta mater Ecclesia invitat nos ad duplex gaudium, pro utroque istorum adventuum, cum dicit: ***Gaudete in Domino,*** etc.

Incipiamus ergo ab ultimo, scilicet de adventu Christi ad iudicium finale, et postea videbimus de primo, si tempus patiatur.<sup>35</sup>

***Rejoice in the Lord always; again, I say, rejoice:*** Phil. 4[. 4].

Dearest, as you know, the holy mother Church makes and honours the memory at this time about the Advent of our Lord Jesus Christ, in two senses:

concerning the advent of his Incarnation, and concerning the advent of the Last Judgement, which will come at the end of this world.

Of the latter advent, the holy mother Church makes mention on the First Sunday [in Advent];

of the former, however, on the Second Sunday of this time, and because great things of joy are prepared for us about whichever of these advents. Today, therefore, the holy mother Church invites us to the two-fold joy for both of these advents, when [Christ/the Bible] says: *Rejoice in the Lord*, etc.

I begin from the latter, namely about the advent of Christ to the Last Judgement, and after that we will consider the former, if time permits.

This introductory part before he moves into the body of the sermon is short and simple, featuring a bare minimum of ‘modern sermon’ techniques. Clearly, the pope’s attention was directed towards packing the body of the sermon with biblical and patristic authorities in favour of his understanding of the beatific vision.

The most striking feature of the sermon figures in the middle of his long series of quotations, using Augustine’s words from *De Trinitate* (I, 8): ‘Si decipior hic, corrigat qui melius sapit. Michi aliud non videtur’ (‘If I am deceived here, he who knows better correct me. I do not see something different’). Near the end of the sermon (just before the concluding words of prayer), he repeats the same sentences in the following passage:

What can we say? I do not know other than what Augustine says in this matter. Thus, I do not see that the souls would see the divinity until after the judgement, but I say with Augustine, that: ‘If I am deceived here, who knows better correct me. I do not see something different’, unless a contrary determination of the Church, or authorities of Sacred Scripture, is shown, which say more clearly this than the above-mentioned says.<sup>36</sup>

Here appealing to the authority of St Augustine, the pope may well be understood as showing humility and openness (I shall return to this point below).<sup>37</sup> However, the extraordinary nature of this statement cannot be overemphasised (it has so far not been fully recognised, although scholars have noted this statement).<sup>38</sup> As seen earlier, it was a common perception that preaching was a ‘clear and public instruction in faith and behaviour’, and it was a highly guarded office, where erroneous teaching must be avoided.<sup>39</sup> Those who took the office of preaching seriously might well have been dismayed by the lack of steadfastness in a sermon of the pope, who not only preached (in their eyes) an erroneous teaching but also insulted the office of preaching by taking it so lightly; the second sermon could thus have been considered as doubly problematic. The first sermon on All Saints’

Day was less controversial than the second in that the pope at least took the office of preaching more seriously by exercising the authority of a preacher, even if his message may have been ‘wrong’. From this perspective, the pope in the second sermon represents a wavering preacher who undermines the authority of preachers. Two critics of the pope in this controversy provide evidence for this understanding.

### **Critics of the Pope as Preacher: Thomas Waleys and William Ockham**

A contrasting figure of a preacher can be seen in Thomas Waleys OP, who preached against the pope’s ideas on 17 January 1333 in Avignon.<sup>40</sup> Taking the *thema*: *Implebit illum spiritu sapiencie et intellectus* (‘He shall fill him with the spirit of wisdom and understanding’) (Sirach 15.5), Waleys shows how John the apostle, the evangelist, the prophet, the privileged of purity and charity, surpassed the other saints in three ways: ‘in abundant perfection of merits’, ‘in agreeable revelation of secrets’, and ‘in glorious contemplation of the celestial’.<sup>41</sup> This part of procedures, which is a development of the *thema*, is far more complex than that in the first sermon of John XXII, who was a lawyer by training, not a theologian.

The first two points of the sermon proceeded in a calm manner, apart from a few sharp allusions to the Franciscan theory of poverty. The third distinction, ‘glorious contemplation of the celestial’ and its consequence, ‘the beauty of the sight’ (*speciei pulchritude*), provide him with the pretext that he sought to introduce to his sermon the reprobation of the pope’s new teaching on the beatific vision. The sermon then examines nine arguments from his opponents, which includes not only those put forward by the pope but those by his supporters, in particular Franciscans. In the following passage, Waleys’ vehement attacks on those supporters led to his imprisonment by the Inquisition. He accuses those supporters of lacking the courage to tell the truth to the pope; they are motivated by temporal interests; they put forward supplications to the pope and as long as they say yes to him, the pope will grant them:

If someone among you, so he would say, reply, as I will answer: I will ask him who says thus: I ask, ‘What is the authority of a saint, which moves you more in believing so?’

He will perhaps answer: ‘Bernard’s, or Gregory’s, or that of another saint’.

And I will say: Certainly, save your Reverence, you do not say truth, but one short word repeated by the Psalmist, namely, ‘So be it, so be it (*fiat, fiat*)!’ For example, ‘your devout son supplicates your holiness for such a benefit/favour’: ‘Let it be (*fiat*)!’ Likewise, because *he may go without another reading*,<sup>42</sup> ‘Let it be!’ Behold ‘Let it be! let it be!’

Concerning this, I add that in my country, namely in England, when someone is excommunicated, or denounced as excommunicated, at the end of a sentence one always joins [to say]: ‘Let it be! Let it be! Amen’.

And I ask God that ‘Let it be! Let it be!’, that is, by excommunication or denunciation of God the Father, would fall on the head of the person who, motivated in such a way, denies truth which he believes. In Psalms [105] it is written: ‘And let all the people say: “Let it be! Let it be! Amen”’.<sup>43</sup>

He was ordered to submit his written version of his sermon. Immediately after the text of his sermon, Waleys added the following note:

I, Brother Thomas Waleys, an English man, have preached publicly (*predicavi publice*) the aforesaid things before many people, and as my defence I say this: either the opinion that says that the souls of saints do not see God face-to-face before resurrection is a clear, dangerous, and scandalous error, as much as nearly the entire church of God was shocked about this preaching [by John XXII, or another preceding sermon by a Franciscan who was in favour of the pope’s ideas], or not. If so, it seems that I must be excused because I have preached, with such conscience urging me [to do so]. If not, I am prepared to endure all punishment, to be imposed on me by some judge.<sup>44</sup>

This abundantly shows his conviction and pride as a preacher: Waleys was conscious of the office and authority of a preacher just as authors of *artes praedicandi* expected from proper preachers.<sup>45</sup>

After John XXII died, William Ockham composed a treatise now known under the title *Tractatus Contra Iohannem XXII*, which survives only in MS lat. 3387 of the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris (fols. 175<sup>r</sup>–214<sup>r</sup>).<sup>46</sup> At the beginning of this work, Ockham criticises the pope’s claim in his confession of faith about the beatific vision on his deathbed, in which he retracted his theory. Almost the first criticism against the pope in the work is concerned with the issue of preaching. Quoting John’s protestation, Ockham attacks John’s statement that he only repeated (*solummodo recitando*) what had been said.<sup>47</sup> Ockham states that the idea that seeing God face to face has to wait until the Last Judgement is the pope’s own, and he has preached that publicly (*publice praedicavit*).<sup>48</sup> Ockham continues:

[...] it should be quickly proven at present by his sermons which he has preached publicly, and by certain truthfulness (*verisimilitudes*) that he has taught, assertively and in an affirming manner, that purified souls that are separated from their bodies do not see divine essence, and that they (the souls) will not be seeing it before the day of the Last Judgement.<sup>49</sup>

It is to be noted that Robert of Basevorn, Thomas Waleys, and William Ockham all used the phrase *praedicare publice*. Unlike Waleys and Ockham, Basevorn is not known to have been engaged in this controversy in any way; he simply sets forth the norms of the preachers of the era. When Ockham quotes in the treatise the subsequent sermons (nos 3–5) of the pope on the beatific vision, his quotations include the passage in question: ‘He who knows better correct me’ (*Et qui melius sapit me corrigat*) or a similar passage.<sup>50</sup> This shows that these passages made a considerable impression on Ockham.

To return to John XXII himself, there is a good possibility that at the point of the second to fifth sermons delivered between December 1331 and early 1332, the pope saw the situation in a completely different light from his critics. When he quoted Augustine’s words in his second and subsequent sermons, he must have seen himself engaged in the activity which Basevorn considers to be differentiated from preaching: ‘determination’ (*determinatio*) as an investigation of truth.<sup>51</sup> In fact, this was the *modus operandi* of John XXII, as Richard Southern states:

By 1321 [...] he seems to have concluded that the only way of getting authoritative decisions on the controversial issues which had arisen largely in the schools but had spread out from there into the world at large, was to cut through the old scholastic procedures whereby in the now fairly distant past acceptable solutions had emerged from the long processes of debate, and to concentrate the decision-making process in the papal *curia*. [...] there is much evidence that he summoned and retained at Avignon theologians of whom he approved, that he strengthened the theological resources of the papal palace, that he set up committees under the chairmanship of a man on whom he could rely, that he himself submitted questions to them, and asked for individual reports on contentious issues, that he read and commented on those he received. In brief, he acted as the master of a school whose professorial *cathedra* was also that of St Peter. The master in his *cathedra* handing down sentences to his school had always had a judicial aspect, at least so far as the master’s own pupils were concerned. But at Avignon the judicial and the magisterial functions were wholly merged, and the school was Christendom.<sup>52</sup>

In delivering the second sermon on beatific visions, he is deliberating on what seems to him undecided points of doctrinal matters, but now he was doing it in sermons. It is also relevant here, as Sylvain Piron makes clear, that the pope’s attention had gradually turned away from the jurists, closer to the theologians, who were better equipped to face the ecclesiological questions debated.<sup>53</sup> As seen above, the problem is that sermons were not the arena where this sort of open discussion was suitable or welcomed.

Iribarren states that '[i]t has been understood that the pope made it repeatedly clear in his sermons that he was speaking as an individual, not in his capacity as bishop of Rome'.<sup>54</sup> As seen above, the accusation against John XXII for potentially 'heretical' preaching cannot be solved by his 'speaking as an individual, not in his capacity as bishop of Rome', if that context of speaking is preaching. Even if and when he preaches as an individual, that does not excuse him from teaching an erroneous doctrine and in a way that undermines the office of preaching, which made him appear to be wavering.

In conclusion, John XXII's sermons on the beatific vision certainly came as a shock to learned preachers, not only in their theological content but also through the medium of communication, and they created an opening for criticism of the pope. The importance of the context of preaching in the beatific vision controversy has not been addressed in enough detail by the scholarship hitherto published, but I hope that the present study has demonstrated that this needs revision. The controversy also prompted many other sermons from disputing parties, which, similarly, deserve further study.

## Notes

- 1 For the doctrine of beatific vision, see Nikolaus Wicki, *Die Lehre von der himmlischen Seligkeit in der mittelalterlichen Scholastik von Petrus Lombardus bis Thomas von Aquin* (Freiburg, 1954); Christian Trottmann, *La vision béatifique, des disputes scholastiques à sa définition par Benoît XII* (Rome, 1995).
- 2 *Les sermons de Jean XXII sur la vision béatifique: texte précédé d'une introduction et suivi d'une chronologie de la controverse avec la liste des écrits pour et contre le Pape*, ed. by Marc Dykmans, *Miscellanea historiae pontificae*, 34 (Rome, 1973).
- 3 Dykmans's chronological calendar of relevant events is highly useful (*Les sermons de Jean XXII*, pp. 165–97).
- 4 For the most comprehensive treatment of the controversy so far, see Christian Trottmann, *La Vision béatifique*; Noël Valois, 'Jacques Duèse, pape sous le nom de Jean XXII', *Histoire littéraire de France*, 34 (1914), 391–633 (esp. 551–633); Decima Douie, 'John XXII and the Beatific Vision', *Dominican Studies*, 3.2 (1950), 154–74; Katherine Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon and Armagh* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 80–107; Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Christianity 200–1336* (New York, 1995), pp. 279–91. For the involvement of King Robert, see Marc Dykmans, *Robert d'Anjou, roi de Jérusalem et de Sicile: La vision bienheureuse: Traité envoyé au Pape Jean XXII* (Rome, 1970).
- 5 Dykmans, *Les sermons de Jean XXII*; idem, 'Jean XXII et les Carmes. La controverse de la vision', *Carmelus*, 17 (1970), 151–92 (text: pp. 163–92).
- 6 *Le procès contre Thomas Waleys O.P.: étude et documents*, ed. by Thomas Kaeppli, Institutum historicum FF. Praedicatorum Romae ad S. Sabinae. *Dissertationes historicae*, 6 (Rome, 1936).
- 7 Isabel Iribarren, 'Theological Authority at the Papal Court in Avignon: The Beatific Vision Controversy', in *La vie culturelle, intellectuelle et scientifique à la cour des papes d'Avignon*, ed. by J. Hamesse (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 277–301 (here, p. 279; she acknowledges William Duba for this insight). Its French version is: Isabel Iribarren, 'Consensus et dissidence à la cour papale d'Avignon: le cas de la controverse sur la vision béatifique', *Revue des sciences religieuses*, 82 (2008), 107–26. Her treatment of the sermons of John XXII and the controversy is part



- of the ongoing discussion over the question: whether during the pontificate of John XXII the functions of the papacy and the *magisterium* (or the theologians at universities), or their relationship, experienced some shifts in matters of orthodoxy. For this, see R. W. Southern, 'The Changing Role of the Universities in Europe', *Historical Research*, 60 (1987), 133–46; William J. Courtenay, 'Papal Policy on Judging the Orthodoxy of University Masters: A Research Problem', in *Knowledge, Discipline and Power in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of David Luscombe*, ed. by Joseph Canning, Edmund King and Martial Staub (Leiden, 2011), pp. 119–28. Cf. William J. Courtenay, 'John XXII and the University of Paris', in *La vie culturelle, intellectuelle et scientifique*, pp. 237–54.
- 8 Iribarren, 'Theological Authority', pp. 282–88; the same can be said about Trottmann, *La vision béatifique*, pp. 433–41; Christian Trottmann, 'Deux interprétations contradictoires de Saint Bernard: les sermons de Jean XXII sur la vision béatifique et les traités inédits du cardinal Jacques Fournier', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge*, 105.1 (1993), 327–79. Isabel Iribarren, 'Ockham and the Avignon Papacy: The Controversy with John XXII, Benedict XII, and Clement VI', in *A Companion to Responses to Ockham*, ed. by Christian Rode (Leiden, 2016), pp. 334–64 (esp. pp. 352–58 for the beatific vision controversy) does not mention the aspect of preaching, except for doctrinal aspects.
  - 9 Carolyn Muessig, 'Sermon, Preacher and Society in the Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval History*, 28 (2002) 73–91: 'In addition to the examination of the genre of the sermon and its language being the focus of the discipline of medieval sermon studies, the preacher is also a main area of investigation' (p. 80).
  - 10 Beverly Kienzle, 'Preaching as Touchstone of Orthodoxy and Dissidence in the Middle Ages', *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 43 (1999), 19–54. Another 'touchstone' Kienzle has identified is preaching by women, which is not addressed in the present article. See also Claire M. Waters, *Angels and Earthly Creatures: Preaching, Performance, and Gender in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, PA, 2004).
  - 11 Ian Forrest, *The Detection of Heresy in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 2005).
  - 12 See note 7 above.
  - 13 Kaeppli, *Le procès contre Thomas Waleys O.P.*, pp. 93–108; Beryl Smalley, 'Thomas Waleys O.P.', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 24 (1954), 50–57.
  - 14 William of Ockham, 'Tractatus contra Iohannem XXII', in *Guillelmi de Ockham Opera Politica*, ed. by R. F. Bennett and H. S. Offler (Manchester, 1940–63): III, pp. 19–156 (introduction, pp. 20–28).
  - 15 Because of the pope's stance towards the Franciscan poverty, Ockham certainly had reasons to be highly critical of John XXII, but his opinions on the pope's preaching can and should be taken seriously, independent from the poverty issues.
  - 16 Siegfried Wenzel, *Medieval 'Artes Praedicatori': A Synthesis of Scholastic Sermon Structure* (Toronto, 2015).
  - 17 Wenzel, *Medieval 'Artes Praedicatori'*, pp. 21–23; Martin Camargo, 'How (Not) to Preach: Thomas Waleys and Chaucer's Pardoner', in *Sacred and Profane in Chaucer and Late Medieval Literature: Essays in Honour of John V. Fleming*, ed. by Will Robins (Toronto, 2010), pp. 146–78 (p. 147).
  - 18 Both works have been edited by T.-M. Charland, *Artes praedicatori: Contribution à l'histoire de la rhétorique au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1936), pp. 231–323 (Basevorn, *Forma praedicatori*), pp. 324–403 (Waleys, *De modo componendi sermones*). These *artes* in particular share many ideas of preaching (which is likely to be the main reason why Charland chose to edit these works together in one volume).
  - 19 Yuichi Akae, *A Mendicant Sermon Collection from Composition to Reception: The 'Novum opus dominicale' of John Waldeby*, OESA (Turnhout, 2015) (esp. in Chapter 4); idem, 'Between *artes praedicatori* and Actual Sermons: Robert of Basevorn's *Forma praedicatori* and the Sermons of John Waldeby OESA', in

- Constructing the Medieval Sermon*, ed. by Roger Andersson (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 9–31; idem, ‘The Importance of *Curiositas* in Late Medieval Preaching’, in *Minds of the Past: Representations of Mentality in Literacy and Historical Documents of Japan and Europe*, ed. by Takami Matsuda and Michio Satō (Tokyo, 2005), pp. 51–74 (esp. pp. 57–63).
- 20 See note 44 below.
- 21 ‘Ostendum est imprimis quid est praedicatio. Est autem praedicatio pluribus facta persuasio ad merendum, moderatum tempus retinens. Nam, quando aliqui determinant quaestiones, etiam theologicas, talis determinatio non est praedicatio, quia non est persuasio ex intentione, sed magis veritatis inquisitio. Quando aliquis hortatur unum vel duo ad bonum, non dicitur proprie praedicatio, sed monitio vel collatio vel aliquid tale’: *Forma praedicandi*, p. 238.
- 22 Cf. ‘Tamen tenendum est quod eorum officio annexum est *publice praedicare* et *occulte docere*, praecipue articulos fidei et praecepta’ (‘Still it must be held that connected with their duty are both *public preaching* and *private teaching*, especially of the articles of Faith and the Commandments’): *Forma praedicandi*, ch. 4, p. 242 (emphasis is mine).
- 23 ‘Praedicatio est, manifesta et publica instructio morum et fidei, informationi hominum deserviens, ex rationum semita, et auctoritatum fonte proveniens’: Alanus de Insulis, *Ars praedicandi*, ed. by J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia cursus completus, series Latina* (hereafter *PL*), ccx (Paris, 1855), cols 109–35 (here col. 111); an English translation: Alan of Lille, *The Art of Preaching*, trans. by Gillian R. Evans, Cistercian Fathers Series, 23 (Kalamazoo, MI, 1981), here pp. 16–17. Kienzle, p. 28. Iribarren, ‘Theological Authority’, p. 288, n. 31, also pays attention to these words of his, stating: ‘The ideal preacher is therefore a virtuous man with a competent knowledge of theology, where these two features are perceived as closely connected’.
- 24 ‘[P]er hoc manifeste denuncians, quod evangelica predicatio non in occultis conventiculis, sicut heretici faciunt, sed in ecclesiis iuxta morem catholicum est publice proponenda’: *Die Register Innocenz’ III.*, ed. by Othmar Hageneder and Anton Haidacher (Graz, 1964–): II: *Pontifikatjahr, 1199/1200: Texte*, ed. by Othmar Hageneder, Werner Maleczek and Alfred A. Strnad (Rome, 1979), no. 132 (141) (July 1199), pp. 271–75 (here p. 272).
- 25 *Forma praedicandi*, pp. 239–40.
- 26 ‘Praedicator ex officio est Papa, Cardinales, Episcopi et curam habentes animarum, et hoc ex ordinaria jurisdictione; et ex commissione religiosi, secundum privilegia eis indulta instituti; etsi nunquam praedicent; sed tunc non merentur aureolam doctorum, quamvis etiam voluntatem habuerint quod praedicassent nisi fuissent impediti. Voluntati enim correspondet aurea vel palma, operi aureola. Praedicator ex exercitio est qui frequenter praedicat’: *Forma praedicandi*, ch. 4, p. 239. In both cases, if those preachers do not preach frequently, they are not considered worthy of ‘the aureole or halo of teachers’.
- 27 ‘Nullus laicus vel religiosus, nisi per episcopum vel papam licentiat, nec mulier quantumcumque docta et sancta, praedicare debet. Nec sufficit alicui dicere quod sit a Deo missus, nisi hoc manifeste ostendat quia hoc solent haeretici dicere. [...] Intendit enim vitare ne errores doceantur. Quod si indifferenter tales praedicent, non est dubium quin multos errores docent’: *Forma praedicandi*, pp. 241–42 (punctuation is mine).
- 28 See note 19 above.
- 29 Helen Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1993), p. 236; Akae, *A Mendicant Sermon Collection*, pp. 107–08.
- 30 I use the edition of the sermons by Dykmans, *Les sermons de Jean XXII sur la vision béatifique*, pp. 93–161, but the layout of the text is altered.

- 31 Franz Ehrle, *Historia bibliothecae Romanorum pontificum* (Rome, 1890), I, p. 151: 'Die XIII ianuarii [1332] pro quatuor duodenis pergamenorum edulinarum maxime forme emptorum per dominum Philippum de Revesto scriptorem domini pape, pro transcribendis *sermonibus factis per dominum nostrum papam*, solvimus dicto domino Philippo — IIII sol. turonensium grossorum' ('On the 13th Day of January [1332] for 48 [sheets] of parchments (kidskin) of the biggest size, purchased by the Lord Philip de Revesto, the scribe of the Lord Pope, for transcribing sermons delivered by the Lord our Pope, we paid back to the said Lord Philip 4 sol. tur. gross.'). Cf. Dykmans, *Les sermons de Jean XXII sur la vision béatifique*, p. 75.
- 32 Eyal Poleg, *Approaching the Bible in Medieval England* (Manchester, 2013), pp. 164, 279–84.
- 33 Bernard of Clairvaux, *In fest. Omnium Sanctorum*, sermo 2.1, in *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. by J. Leclercq and J. M. Rochais, 8 vols (Rome, 1957–77): v: 370–98 (here p. 342).
- 34 Dykmans, *Les sermons de Jean XXII sur la vision béatifique*, pp. 100–43.
- 35 *Ibid.*, p. 100.
- 36 'Quid ergo dicemus? Nescio aliter quam Augustinus dicit in materia ista. Unde, non video adhuc quod animae videant divinitatem usque post iudicium, sed dico cum Augustino, quod: "Si decipior hic, qui melius sapit corrigat me. Michi aliud non videtur", nisi ostenderetur determinatio Ecclesiae contraria vel auctoritates sacrae scripturae quae hoc clarius dicerent quam dicant supradicta': Dykmans, *Les sermons de Jean XXII sur la vision béatifique*, pp. 138–39.
- 37 See note 52 below.
- 38 Iribarren, 'Theological Authority', p. 287, n. 30: 'The encouragement to open discussion is present in virtually all of John's sermons regarding the beatific vision'. After the second sermon on 15 December 1331, this is true, but it has to be noted that this does not apply to the first sermon on All Saints' Day.
- 39 See note 27 above.
- 40 Kaeppli, *Le procès contre Thomas Waleys O.P.*, pp. 93–108.
- 41 'Perfectione meritorum copiosa', 'Revelatione secretorum gratiosa', 'Contemplatione supernorum gloriosa': Kaeppli, *Le procès contre Thomas Waleys O.P.*, p. 94.
- 42 This is a set phrase meaning that the pope does not have to review this supplication; namely, the supplication is approved. See P. A. Linehan and P. N. R. Zutshi, 'Fiat A: The Earliest Known Roll of Petitions Signed by the Pope (1307)', *English Historical Review*, 122 (2007), 998–1015.
- 43 Kaeppli, *Le procès contre Thomas Waleys O.P.*, p. 105 (emphasis is mine).
- 44 'Ego frater Thomas Waleys, anglicus, *predicavi publice* predicta coram multis, et in excusacionem mei dico sic: aut opinio, que dicit animas sanctorum ante resurrectionem non videre deum facialiter, est error manifestus, periculosus et scandalosus, utpote de cuius predicacione iam tota quasi ecclesia dei scandalizatur, aut non. Si sic, videtur quod debeam excusari, quia urgente me consciencia talia predicavi; si non, paratus sum, omnem penam subire, mihi a quocumque iudice imponendam': Kaeppli, *Le procès contre Thomas Waleys O.P.*, p. 108 (emphasis is mine).
- 45 See notes 23–27 above.
- 46 See note 14 above.
- 47 'In quibus verbis duo principaliter insinuare videtur. Quorum primum est sua de visione animarum purgatarum a corporibus separatarum confessio. Secundum est eius assertio quod omnia quae dixerat, praedicaverat seu scripserat praescriptae confessioni contraria, dixerat, praedicaverat seu scripserat *solummodo recitando*': 'Tractatus contra Iohannem XXII', ed. by Offler, p. 30 (emphasis is mine).

- 48 ‘De qua asserunt fidedigni quod apertam continet falsitatem, dicentes quod ipsi fuerunt praesentes quando Ioannes XXII *publice praedicavit* asserendo, quod animae sanctorum in caelo non vident divinam essentiam, nec videbunt usque ad diem iudicii generalis; plures etiam dicunt expresse quod eis in camera sua seorsum expressit, quod illa erat opinio sua’: ‘Tractatus contra Iohannem XXII’, ed. by Offler, p. 30 (emphasis is mine).
- 49 ‘ad praesens per sermones suos, quos publice praedicavit, et per quasdem verisimilitudines breviter est probandum quod asserendo et affirmando docuit animas purgatas a corporibus separatas divinam essentiam non videre, nec ante diem generalis iudicii esse visuras’: ‘Tractatus contra Iohannem XXII’, ed. by Offler, pp. 30–31.
- 50 Dykmans, *Les sermons de Jean XXII sur la vision béatifique*, p. 148, nos 3–4 (sermon 3): ‘Certe non possumus aliter intelligere nec sentire, et qui melius intelligit, melius dicat’; p. 152 (sermon 4); p. 156 (sermon 5).
- 51 See note 21 above.
- 52 Southern, ‘The Changing Role of the Universities in Europe’, pp. 145–46 (see note 7 above).
- 53 Sylvain Piron, ‘Avignon sous Jean XXII, l’Eldorado des théologiens’, in *Jean XXII et le Midi*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 45 (Toulouse, 2012), pp. 357–91.
- 54 Iribarren, ‘Theological Authority’, p. 287.

## 4 **Franciscan Identity and Iconography in the Assisi Tapestry Commissioned by Pope Sixtus IV**

*Alessandro Simbeni*

The tapestry depicting the Franciscan Tree kept in the Treasury Museum of the Basilica of Saint Francis in Assisi is one of the many artworks commissioned by Pope Sixtus IV and it is a fascinating study case on the communication strategies of papal authority. The tapestry was created during a political conflict that affected the Franciscan Order in the last decades of the fifteenth century. The patron of the tapestry was Francesco della Rovere (1414–84), formerly minister general of the Franciscan Order, later Pope Sixtus IV from 1471 to 1484, while the recipient was the friary of the Basilica of Saint Francis in Assisi, the mother house and headquarters of the government of the Franciscan Order. The Assisi tapestry – also known as the tapestry of Sixtus IV – can be considered as a political manifesto designed to strengthen the unity of the Franciscan families in a tormented and fragile phase of the Order’s evolution.

Francesco della Rovere, the son of wealthy merchants, was born in 1414 near Savona, Italy. He entered the Franciscan Order at an early age and studied philosophy and theology at the University of Padua, where he received his doctorate at a public ceremony in the Basilica of St Anthony in 1444. He then went on to lecture at several universities in Italy. He began his ecclesiastical career in the ranks of the Franciscan Order and then moved to the Roman curia. At the age of thirty-five, he was elected dean in charge of the Franciscan house of Padua. In 1460, he became provincial minister of Liguria and was appointed as procurator general of the Franciscans in Rome. He was then elected minister general of the Friars Minor in 1464, and three years later, he was appointed cardinal of St Peter in Chains. Finally, on 9 August 1471, the conclave summoned after the sudden death of Paul II elected him pope with the name of Sixtus IV.<sup>1</sup>

Sixtus IV is remembered especially for his large contribution as a patron of the arts, for promoting restoration work of numerous churches and buildings in Rome, and for the urban rearrangement of the city. In reality, before becoming pope, he had shown no interest in becoming a patron of works of art; his sole contribution was being involved in the restoration of the church of St Peter in Chains in Rome, which he undertook after his election as titular cardinal of this church.<sup>2</sup> Only after he was made pope did he change

course and begin a systematic urban renewal of Rome, earning himself the epithet of *renovator urbis*. During his thirteen-year pontificate, Sixtus IV restored or rebuilt more than thirty of Rome's crumbling churches, and he built two new churches: Santa Maria del Popolo and Santa Maria della Pace. He also promoted the construction of Via Sistina (later named Borgo Sant'Angelo), a road leading from Castel Sant'Angelo to St Peter's.

By far the most famous monument he sponsored was the Sistine Chapel in the Apostolic Palace in the Vatican. Its construction began in 1475, during the Jubilee Year, and ended in 1483, when Sixtus IV solemnly inaugurated the new chapel dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. From about 1481, Sixtus IV summoned various Florentine painters to work in the chapel, including Sandro Botticelli, Domenico Ghirlandaio, Cosimo Rosselli and Luca Signorelli, as well as Umbrian artists such as Pietro Perugino and Pintoricchio. The plan for the chapel comprised two fresco cycles on the walls, including stories from the lives of Moses and Christ. Above those cycles, a gallery of papal portraits was painted. This contraposition of Moses and Christ's cycles reveals a clear political message that was more than a mere illustration of the correspondences between stories from the Old and New Testaments. The decorative programme of the Sistine Chapel was conceived by Sixtus IV specifically to demonstrate the legitimacy of papal authority. Starting from Moses, through Christ, to Peter, the ancestral line of the God-given authority is ultimately carried forward by the lineage of the popes. One of the most explicit scenes of this programme, where the concept of the authority's transmission is realised, is Pietro Perugino's painting *Christ handing the keys to St Peter*.

Commissioning artwork, such as paintings, medals and inscriptions, to celebrate the conclusion of the public works that Sixtus IV had promoted became a well-established practice during his papacy. In fact, the pope promoted many celebratory artworks with a strong message of papal authority. Of the many examples of Sixtus' self-aggrandisement, I would like to recall just some of the most famous ones as a means of comparison with the Assisi tapestry.

The building of Ponte Sisto in 1473, named proudly after the pope, was the first bridge that had been built in Rome since the empire. In fact, the bridge was then celebrated in wall paintings, books, poetry and medals, so much that it became an emblem of the renewal of Rome. To mark the occasion, a medal for the foundation of Ponte Sisto was minted. On the obverse is depicted the profile of Sixtus IV, completed by the inscription *SIXTVS IIII PONT MAX SACRICVLTOR* ('Sixtus IV, supreme pontiff, connoisseur of the sacred'). On the reverse is the representation of Ponte Sisto; the medal is surrounded by a wreath of oak leaves, a symbol of the della Rovere family, while above the bridge is the inscription *CVRA RERVVM PVBLICARVM* ('He cares for public works').<sup>3</sup>

Sixtus IV also promoted the restoration of the hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia: in 1471 much of the hospital had been damaged in a fire, and the

pope, in view of the Jubilee of 1475, decided to restore it.<sup>4</sup> Sixtus entrusted the Order of the Hospitallers of the Holy Spirit with revitalising the renovated hospital that housed the poor and orphans. The renovation was completed, under the supervision of the architect Baccio Pontelli, between 1471 and 1478. The ‘Sistine Aisle’, the part commissioned by Sixtus IV, is the main building of the hospital and it still houses a fresco cycle depicting the history of the ancient hospital during the papacy of Innocent III, the Sistine re-foundation of the hospital, and the most important episodes from the life of Sixtus IV. The cycle, painted by artists of the Umbro-Roman School, such as Melozzo da Forlì, Domenico Ghirlandaio and Pintoricchio, is an explicit example of personal propaganda by Sixtus IV, culminating with the dedication scene in which the pope is depicted offering the models of the hospital to God the Father.<sup>5</sup>

Sixtus IV was also responsible for the foundation of the Vatican Library. His predecessor Nicholas V had already had the idea of setting up a library, and in 1475, in his letter *Ad decorem militantis Ecclesiae*, Sixtus formally established a permanent area to house the volumes, records and secret archives in the Vatican Palace, and called it the Palatine Library. The library was designed by the architect Domenico Fontana, and it was equipped with shelves, desks, benches and presses, for use by scholars.<sup>6</sup> The famous fresco depicting Sixtus IV appointing Bartolomeo Platina as prefect of the Vatican Library by Melozzo da Forlì (c. 1477), now held in the Pinacoteca Vaticana, is just another example of Sixtus’ propensity for self-aggrandisement. The fresco represents the Renaissance humanist Bartolomeo Sacchi, better known as Platina after being appointed prefect of the Vatican Library by Sixtus IV, who is seated on the right. The other two figures in the scene are the pope’s two nephews, cardinals Giuliano della Rovere (later Pope Julius II) and Pietro Riario, who are set behind Platina. All the characters are set in spacious perspective architecture, with the coffered ceiling decorated with rosettes, moulding and oak garlands, a reference to the coats of arms of the della Rovere family. The newly appointed librarian, Platina, points his finger at the Latin inscription below which he himself supposedly wrote:

Because you repaired churches, a hospital, streets, squares, walls, and bridges, and the virginal water of the Trevi [the city may owe you much] even if indeed you ordain to give the sailors the commodity of their ancient port, and to girdle the Vatican grounds [with walls]; yet the city owes you more: for the library which lay hidden in squalor, may now be seen in a frequented and renowned spot.<sup>7</sup>

The inscription also makes reference to another public work promoted by Sixtus IV: the improvement of Rome’s water supply system with the restoration of the Aqua Virgo aqueduct, in preparation for the Jubilee of 1475. Sixtus IV had had the arcades carrying the conduit to Trevi repaired, and the water channel cleaned.<sup>8</sup> The restoration of an aqueduct and the provision

of healthier water to a city which was renowned for its unhealthy water was probably one of the most popular public works promoted by Sixtus IV, who proudly included it as one of his greatest accomplishments in Platina's inscription.

The self-aggrandising approach associated with all of Sixtus' work as a *renovator urbis* can also be found in different ways in all his acts of patronage. The assertion of papal authority in Sixtus' public works is conveyed by images with a great visual impact or by magniloquent dedicatory inscriptions. Even in the works of art he commissioned he missed no opportunity to promote himself and the papacy, with strategies that varied according to the type of audience to which the work was addressed. Among the many cases that could be cited, let us focus on the splendid tapestry depicting the Franciscan Tree, held in the Treasury Museum of the Basilica of Saint Francis in Assisi (Figure 4.1). Woven in the Netherlands between 1471 and 1482, it is among the few extant examples of the many Netherlandish tapestries commissioned by eminent Italian patrons which were exported to Italy during the fifteenth century. This tapestry is particularly interesting not only because it includes the portrait of Sixtus IV, but especially because of its unique and complex iconography, which relates to doctrinal debates that were preoccupying the Church in the second half of the fifteenth century.

A brief study of the tapestry was published in the early twentieth century, but the only in-depth research was conducted in 1980 by Mercedes Viale Ferrero, to which all the subsequent studies have made reference.<sup>9</sup> Although Viale Ferrero's study has convincingly explained many aspects of this tapestry, such as the date of execution, style of design and place of manufacture, I would contend that some of its iconographic features have not yet been drawn out fully. What follows analyses the medieval iconographic sources to better understand the role played by Sixtus IV not only in the direct patronage of this artwork but also in the burning debate on the Franciscan identity that ripped apart the Franciscan Order in the second half of the fifteenth century.

During the exhibition on Umbrian medieval art held in Perugia in 1908, Giustino Cristofani recognised for the first time the northern character in the design of the tapestry, suggesting that it might have been woven in France. Later, Bonaventura Marinangeli and Beda Kleinschmidt clarified that it was manufactured by Netherlandish artists, while Mercedes Viale Ferrero proposed Brussels or Lille as the probable provenance of the tapestry, because of stylistic analogies in contemporary sculptures and painting from Brussels, and because of well-documented links between Italian patrons and the Flemish cities. Nello Forti Grazzini also thought that Brussels was the likely origin, and highlighted the stylistic similarities between the *mille-fleurs* ground of the Assisi tapestry and that of the tapestry dated 1466 by Jan de Haze, now in the Bern Historical Museum. More recently, Thomas P. Campbell, at the exhibition on Renaissance tapestry at the Metropolitan





*Figure 4.1* Flemish manufacturing, *The Franciscan Tree*, wool and silk, c. 1476, Assisi, Basilica of St Francis, Treasury Museum. Image courtesy of Marcello Fedeli, Spoleto, 2013. Reproduced by permission of the Archivio fotografico del Sacro Convento di S. Francesco, Assisi, Italy.

Museum, New York, claimed that the Assisi tapestry could have been produced in a high-quality workshop in Lille, Bruges or Tournai, just as easily as in Brussels, while Dominique Donadieu-Rigaut put forward new

iconographic interpretations, such as the connection between Sixtus IV and the institution of the feast of the Immaculate Conception.<sup>10</sup>

The portrait of Sixtus IV in the Assisi tapestry differs from the many other surviving examples of his portraits. It demonstrates that the tapestry was not woven in Rome: the design of the tapestry was instead developed in the Netherlands, probably from written instructions, rather than a detailed sketch.<sup>11</sup> There is no surviving document guaranteeing the provenance and the patronage of the tapestry, but scholars tend to agree that the tapestry was a gift from Sixtus IV to the Basilica of Saint Francis. Some scholars argue that the pope may have received the tapestry as a gift rather than commissioning it, and then gifted it to the Franciscans in Assisi.<sup>12</sup> However, I hope to prove in this chapter that there is clear evidence that Sixtus IV was not only the patron of the artwork, but was in fact behind its iconographic project as well.

The tapestry measures 445 × 333 cm. It is made of wool and silk, with a woven structure of seven warps per centimetre. The design is based on the allegorical image of a tree. St Francis of Assisi is depicted in the middle of the tapestry in the typical brown habit of the Franciscans, while he is receiving the stigmata from Christ in the shape of a seraphim on the cross. The account of the stigmatisation is one of the best known of Francis' life, and the subject had been frequently represented in medieval art from the time of Francis' canonisation. The famous altarpiece by Bonaventura Berlinghieri in the church of St Francis in Pescia, Tuscany, dated c. 1235, is one of the first iconographic arrangements of this tale. Later examples include the well-known fresco in the Basilica of St Francis in Assisi, and the altarpiece that is currently in the Louvre Museum in Paris, but which was originally housed in the St Francis church in Pisa. These two examples, both convincingly attributed to the famous Florentine painter Giotto di Bondone, respectively, dated around 1290 and 1295, established the iconography of the stigmatisation scene until the Renaissance. The Assisi tapestry follows this iconographic tradition depicting the saint kneeling and directing his gaze at the sky, with his hands raised up to receive Christ's five wounds onto his own body.<sup>13</sup> Above the saint is a red canopy with a blue curtain, which symbolically embraces Francis' body. The canopy carries the inscription *TRES ORDINES HIC ORDINAT* ('He establishes three orders'), referring to the three orders officially established by St Francis: the male Order of Friars Minor, the female Order of St Clare and the lay Third Order of St Francis.

The tree branches out from Francis' body across the entire upper half of the composition leading to six flowers with a Franciscan saint (identified by an inscription) seated on each one. The two saints close to Saint Francis are the only two who met him in person, Clare of Assisi (1194–1253) on the left and Anthony of Padua (1195–1231) on the right. Clare of Assisi, the foundress of the Second Franciscan Order (also known as the Poor Clares), is kneeling on the flower. She is looking at a large monstrance containing the Eucharistic host with which she drove the Muslims out of Assisi in 1240. St Anthony

of Padua, usually represented with the book of scriptures, is here instead depicted holding a cross and a lantern, which symbolise the light overcoming a demon, which lies beaten at his feet.

In the upper corners of the tapestry are two Franciscan saints who were appointed to the bishopric. To the left is Louis of Toulouse (1274–97) of the royal French house of Anjou, who was made bishop of Toulouse. He holds the crosier and a book, while next to him there is a crown, a reference to his implied renouncement of the throne of Naples, because of his choice to become a priest. He wears a cape over the Franciscan sackcloth. On the opposite corner is Bernardino of Siena (1380–1444), whose triple rejection of the bishopric is symbolised by the three mitres passed through by the branch next to him. He shows the radiant Christogram with the letters *IHS* inscribed, which he usually displayed during his sermons to the masses.

The two remaining saints in the middle section both belong to the secular world. On the extreme left is Elzéar of Sabran (1285–1323), a member of an aristocratic family from Provence, who married the virtuous Delphine of the house of Glandèves.<sup>14</sup> He respected her desire to live as a virgin and together they made a vow of chastity, supported by the Provençal group of Spiritual Franciscans led by friar Peter John Olivi. Elzéar of Sabran joined the Third Order of St Francis and he was buried in the Franciscan habit in the church of the Minor Conventuals at Apt. In 1369, he was canonised by Urban V. In the Assisi tapestry, he is depicted wearing a hat adorned with a gem and holding a sword in one hand, symbols that identify him both as nobleman (he was baron of Ansouis, Provence, and later count of Ariano, Campania, Italy), while in the other hand he is holding a rosary of white and red beads.<sup>15</sup> On the extreme right is Elizabeth of Hungary (1207–31). The two crowns that she is holding in one hand symbolise her double status as princess and queen; in the other hand, she is holding a simple cloak, symbolic of the worldly goods she rejected in favour of a life of charity when she joined the Third Order of St Francis.<sup>16</sup> As a result of Elizabeth's absolute dedication to the poor, the sick and the homeless, after being canonised in 1235 she was chosen to be patroness saint of the Third Order of St Francis.

Above the canopy, the branches of the tree host an otherworldly almond surrounded by a multicolour aureole in which the Virgin and Christ child appear. Both hold fruit: the Virgin holds an apple and Christ holds a pomegranate, commonly used in medieval art as symbols for original sin and redemption, respectively. The apple is a clear reference to Eve and to the original sin and thus here the Virgin is represented as a New Eve. Being responsible for the redemptive effects achieved by her Son, she thus appears in this way as the co-redemptrix with the Redeemer. The child Christ, in line with the Eve-Mary parallel, could be seen as the New Adam, according to Paul the Apostle's interpretation given in the First Letter to the Corinthians.<sup>17</sup> He is holding a pomegranate, which relates firstly to his role as Redeemer, but also to the unifying role of the Church, where the seeds represent the many believers who make up the one universal Church.

The lower part of the tapestry is occupied by five standing figures of high prelates, side-by-side in the hierarchy. They are three popes and two cardinals, all belonging to the Franciscan Order, highlighted by the rich ecclesiastical garments worn over the Franciscan habit. At the centre is Sixtus IV, the only living person, who is depicted with a sumptuous cope decorated with highly detailed embroidery, a brocaded dalmatic and a pearl-encrusted papal tiara formed by three crowns. In one hand he holds a golden cross, and in the other a closed book. Under the figure of Sixtus IV is the coat of arms of the della Rovere family, with the crossed keys of the papacy. Sixtus is flanked by two other Franciscan popes wearing similarly elaborate vestments. To the left is Nicholas IV, who was the first Franciscan to be elected pope (1288–92). In 1274, he succeeded Bonaventure of Bagnoregio as minister general of his Order, and in 1278 he was created cardinal-priest of Santa Pudenziana. To the right is Alexander V (1409–10), a Franciscan theologian and then archbishop of Milan (1402). He was appointed cardinal in 1405 and papal legate to Lombardy. Elected by the Council of Pisa in 1409 during the troubled period of the Great Western Schism that witnessed the coexistence of three popes, Alexander V reigned for only ten months. In the lower corners of the tapestry are two eminent personalities, Bonaventure of Bagnoregio and Peter Aureol, both depicted with the typical robes of cardinals and the galero, the broad-brimmed red hat. Bonaventure of Bagnoregio (1221–74) is one of the key figures of the Franciscan Order's history, also mentioned as the 'second founder' of the Order, after St Francis. He was a philosopher, the author of the official biography of St Francis, was canonised in 1482, and later proclaimed Doctor of the Church in 1588. Peter Aureol (c. 1280–1322) was a scholastic philosopher and theologian. In 1318, he was appointed professor of theology at the university of Paris; in 1321, he was appointed as archbishop of Aix-en-Provence. The inclusion of these two philosophers is not a coincidence, and it reveals the interpretative key of the tapestry's political message. The figure of Bonaventure of Bagnoregio – as will be argued in the second part of this essay – is of outstanding importance in this tapestry. While the field of the upper section of the tapestry is dominated by the branches of the tree and the scrolling leaves, the lower section shows the prelates against a splendid *millefleurs* ground, composed, as Viale Ferrero has rightly noticed, with an extraordinary diversity of botanical species.<sup>18</sup> The *millefleurs* ground is a reference to the Garden of Eden. At the centre of the garden is the Tree of Life, on which the tapestry bases its elaborate symbolism.

The iconographic programme of the tapestry derives from a visual tradition that had been inspired by Bonaventure's treatise *Lignum vitae* (written c. 1260),<sup>19</sup> which visualises the cross on which Christ was crucified as a living tree, a reminder of the Tree of Life described in Genesis 2.9 and in Revelations 22.2.<sup>20</sup> The *Lignum vitae* of Bonaventure is among the finest literary expressions of Franciscan devotion to the humanity of Christ. Bonaventure described a schematic tree to be used as a memory aid, in the

manner of medieval *ars memoria*.<sup>21</sup> The basic idea is to analyse and organise a complex subject in detail, and then associate each element of that outline with some physical representations. In the specific case of Bonaventure's *Lignum vitae*, the subject is a series of forty-eight meditations on the life and death of Christ and the tree is, therefore, both a kind of mnemonic and a typological connection to the Tree of Life from the Garden of Eden.

From the late thirteenth century, the manuscripts of Bonaventure's text often included full-page illustrations. Some were pictorial, whereas others were purely diagrammatic; all were nonetheless summaries or outlines suitable for both mnemonic and meditational use. A good example is the illumination contained in MS 416 of the Beinecke Library (Figure 4.2), which was composed in the Cistercian abbey of Kamp in the Rhineland (Germany), probably in the late thirteenth century.<sup>22</sup> The image is characterised by a green cross inscribed onto a tree consisting of twelve branches and fruits, while the inscriptions on the branches are taken from Bonaventure's text.

The panel by Pacino of Bonaguida dated c. 1310 is among the closest adaptations of Bonaventure's text into a large panel painting. This panel is now in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence; it comes from the ancient convent of the Poor Clares in Monticelli, which is near Florence.<sup>23</sup> In strict accordance with the parallelism *Lignum vitae*–*Lignum crucis*, the dead Christ is shown hanging on a tree trunk, with twelve branches and twelve fruits symbolising the twelve virtues of the Saviour. Every branch includes four medallions displaying stories from the life of Christ; instead of being contained in a medallion, the forty-eighth chapter fills the entire gable with a large depiction of the Heavenly Paradise. Pacino's panel is part of the illustrations to Bonaventure's forty-eight chapters. Importantly for our purposes here, it contains other iconographic elements more relevant to the tapestry of Sixtus IV. In the centre, at the bottom, Bonaventure himself stands on an opening of the rocky base from which the trunk of the tree rises. The rock interrupts a strip of diminutive scenes in the Garden of Eden or Earthly Paradise, reaching across the panel from side to side, illustrating the Creation of Adam and Eve, God's warning against the Forbidden Tree, the Temptation, the Fall, the Reprimand, the Fountain of Paradise and the Expulsion from Eden. The inclusion of the stories from the Book of Genesis creates an explicit dualism between the Tree of Knowledge and the Tree of Life. Such dualism amplifies the dualism between Adam and Christ, and the consequent interpretation of Christ as the New Adam.

From the beginning of the fourteenth century, Bonaventure's *Lignum vitae* started to be depicted in large wall paintings in many Franciscan churches and friaries, especially in Italy.<sup>24</sup> In the church of St Francis in Udine, for example, the over life-size *Lignum vitae* is located on the side wall of the main chapel;<sup>25</sup> at the Benedictine monastery of Sesto al Reghena, which is located not far from Udine, a similar composition few years later was replicated in the transept area of the church.<sup>26</sup> The artworks in the Galleria dell'Accademia and Sesto al Reghena are similar, and they share

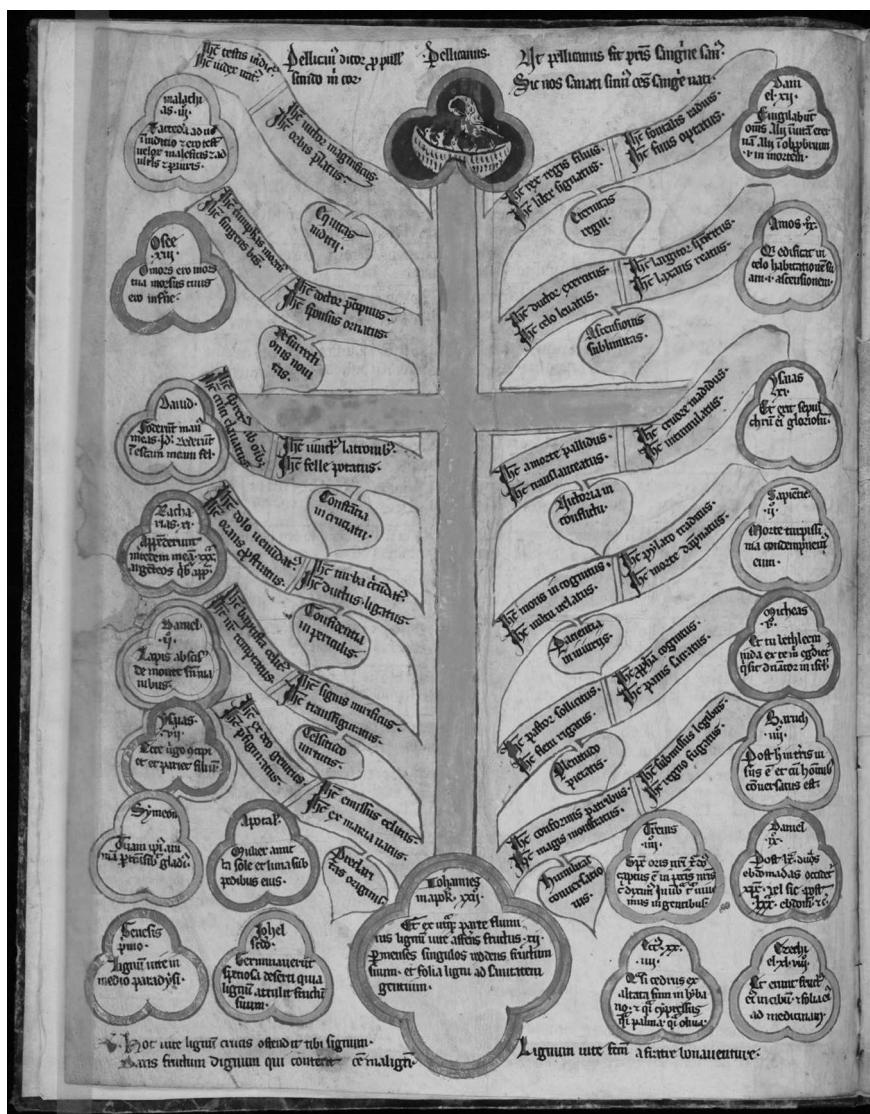


Figure 4.2 *Lignum vitae* (Tree of Life), produced at the Cistercian monastery of Kamp, Germany, late thirteenth century, New Haven, CT, Yale University, Beinecke Library, MS 416, fol. 1v. Image via the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, generously provided without copyright restrictions.

some iconographic details, such as the presence of Bonaventure kneeling at the base of the tree.

The monumental version of the *Lignum vitae* seems to be depicted especially in the friaries or in the parts of the churches reserved for the religious

members of the order. The intricacy and the complexity of the doctrinal implications of this image suggest that this iconography was originally conceived not for a lay public, but a religious one. It was essentially an image aimed at educating the friars. In fact, paintings of the *Lignum vitae* can be frequently found in the most important rooms of the friaries, such as the refectory and the chapter house. In the ancient refectory of Santa Croce in Florence, a large fresco decoration based on the image of the *Lignum vitae* (Figure 4.3) was carried out around 1340 by Taddeo Gaddi, who was among Giotto's most talented followers.<sup>27</sup> The Santa Croce version of the *Lignum vitae* is combined with the depiction of the Last Supper and the aim of this decorative cycle is to exhort the audience to feed themselves symbolically with the fruits of the Tree of Life.

The probable prototype of all these Italian monumental depictions of the fourteenth century was the wall painting in the parlatory (a room adjacent and connected to the chapter house) of the Franciscan friary of St Anthony in Padua, which is the second-most important convent of the Order after Assisi. Unfortunately, this composition is mostly lost and only a small fragment of the painting survives. However, its original structure is documented by some photographs made before the detachment of the wall paintings. In my opinion, this large composition was painted by Giotto himself around 1303, when he was working in the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua.<sup>28</sup> The Paduan fresco became the prototype for a series of replicas in other churches of northern Italy, such as the examples in Udine and Sesto al Reghena, but it might have influenced the later compositions in Tuscany, too. The Paduan prototype is also interesting because it was associated with one more composition based on an allegorical tree and placed on the opposite wall. This second painting, like the *Lignum vitae*, is in poor condition, and its iconography is understandable only through the old photographs preserved in the photographic archive of the Centro Studi Antoniani in Padua (Figure 4.4). This second painting was also arranged on an arboreal-shape structure and depicts a unique and rare iconography. In the centre of the composition is Francis of Assisi, who is standing and from whom a series of probably twelve branches, six on each side, grow. Between the branches is a series of medallions containing stories from the life of St Francis, organised in the same manner as that of the panel by Pacino di Bonaguida.

If the depiction of the Christological tree may be denominated as *Lignum vitae Christi*, its Franciscan version may be named as *Lignum vitae Sancti Francisci*. The result of the decoration of this room in the Paduan friary was an explicit and magnificent parallelism between Christ and Francis, following the historical reading of Francis' experiences given in the *Legenda Maior* by Bonaventure. This interpretation, which was spread by Bonaventure, had a primary role in the formulation of the concept of Francis as an *alter Christus*, a second Christ. It was a theory that was later elaborated again in the eschatological doctrine by the Franciscan theologians of the Spiritual faction of the Order (later called Observance), such as Peter John Olivi (1248–98), Angelo Clareno (1247/48–1337) and Ubertino of Casale

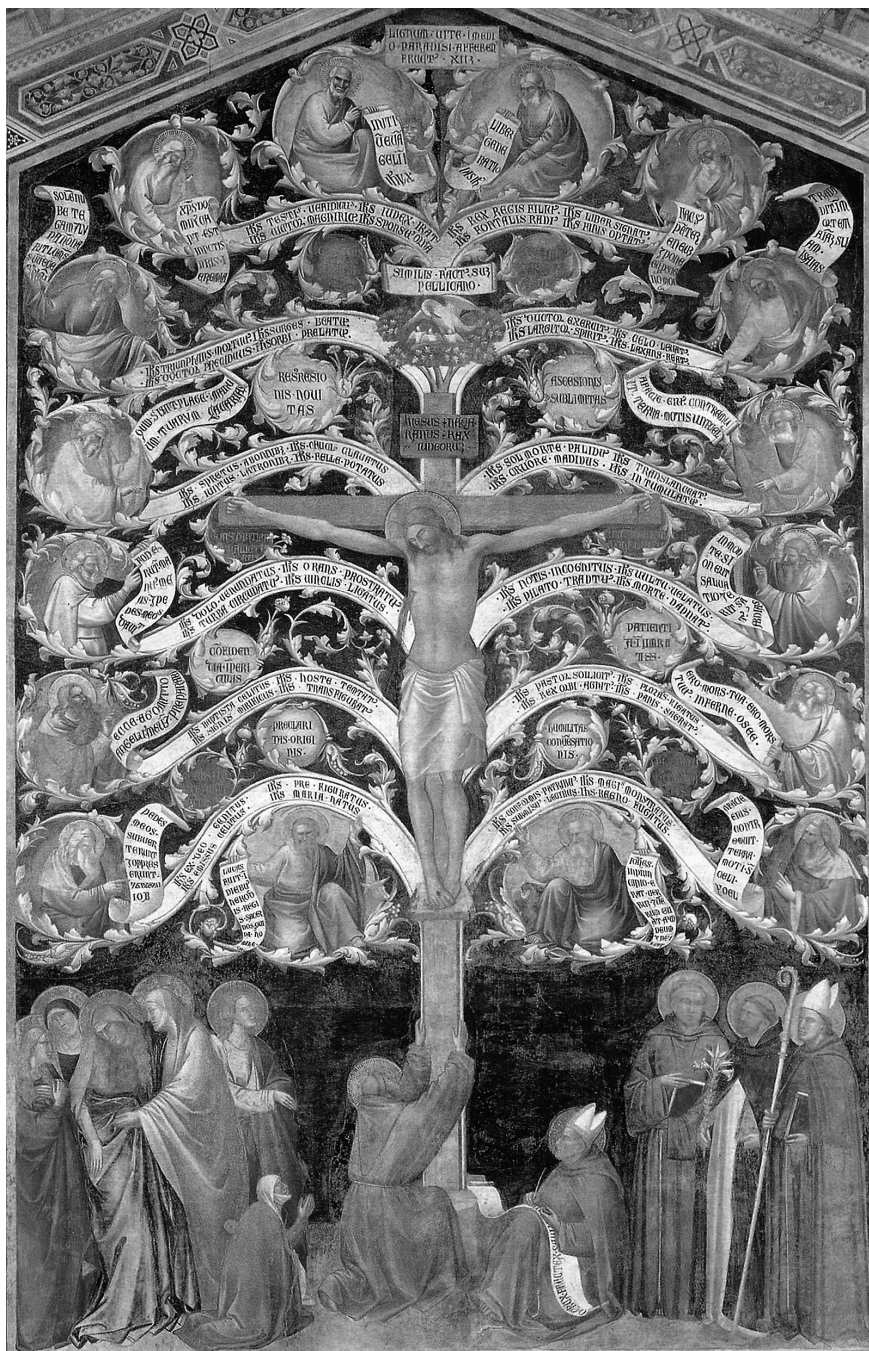


Figure 4.3 Taddeo Gaddi, *Lignum vitae* (Tree of Life), fresco, c. 1340, Florence, Santa Croce, refectory, south wall. Image via Wikimedia Commons, generously provided without copyright restrictions.





Figure 4.4 Giotto di Bondone (?), *Lignum vitae santi Francisci* (The Franciscan Tree), fresco, c. 1303, Padua, St Anthony, friary, locutory, north wall (photograph taken before painting was detached in 1979). Image reproduced by generous permission of the Centro Studi Antoniani, Padua.

(1259–1329). The symbolism of the tree was also used by Ubertino of Casale in his *Arbor vitae crucifixi Iesu* (c. 1305). Although no surviving depiction of the *Lignum vitae* can be connected directly to Ubertino's work, the symbolic

image of the tree was surely familiar to the Spirituals. In confirmation of this is the text of a sermon given by Bernardino of Siena in Florence in 1424.<sup>29</sup> This sermon was based accurately on the image of Bonaventure's *Lignum vitae*, rather than Ubertino's later work. This reference is not actually surprising since Bonaventure was a leading figure and he was respected by the various factions of the Order. The symbolism of the tree was, therefore, shared by the different groups within the Order. In the Assisi tapestry the Spiritual faction, represented by Bernardino of Siena and Elzéar of Sabran, coexists with the representatives of the Conventuals thanks to the symbolism of the tree.

Thus, if the primary source for the Assisi tapestry is clearly the *Lignum vitae*, I believe that a secondary source could be recognised in the iconography of the Tree of Jesse, an artistic subject widespread in European art from the twelfth century. The Tree of Jesse iconography originates from a passage in the Book of Isaiah that metaphorically describes the descent of the Messiah: 'A shoot will come up from the stump of Jesse; from his roots a Branch will bear fruit' (Isaiah 11.1). The passage was interpreted by Tertullian as a prophecy referring to Christ: he identified the stem (*radix*) with Jesse, father of David; the shoot (*virga*) with Mary, playing with the similarity of the two Latin words *virga* and *virgo* (i.e., the Virgin Mary); and finally recognising the flower (*flos*) blooming from the shoot with Christ.

The first depictions of the Tree of Jesse iconography can be found in illuminated books produced between the eleventh and the twelfth centuries, especially in northern Europe.<sup>30</sup> However, it was only with the majestic stained glass in the abbey church of St-Denis, which was conceived by Abbot Suger and commissioned between 1140 and 1144, that the image reached a new grandiose arrangement. The imposing stained glass of St-Denis was soon replicated in the cathedral of Chartres and later in many other churches of England and Germany. And so, this iconography spread throughout Europe. The originality of the St-Denis version of the Tree of Jesse is that the iconography is the result of the mixture of the passage from Isaiah along with the genealogy of Jesus described in the Gospels of Matthew (1.1–16) and Luke (3.23–38) which lists the ancestries of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, culminating in Jesus. The abbey church of St-Denis was the burial place of French kings for more than 800 years; Suger's aim was to highlight the relationship between the royal genealogy of Jesus and that of the French kings.<sup>31</sup>

The structure of the tapestry reveals an intelligent balance of symbolic and theological references, and the positioning of the Franciscan saints conveys a message that is something far more subtle than a mere celebration of the glorious history of the Order. The references to theological and iconographical works of Franciscan spirituality from Bonaventure of Bagnoregio to Peter Aureol must have been conceived and developed by a learned member of the Franciscan Order.<sup>32</sup> However, in my opinion, it is unlikely that the tapestry was a gift to Sixtus IV. A refined theologian such as Sixtus IV was more than capable of devising such a complex design by himself. And

his stay in Padua, first as a student and later, in 1441, serving as the head of the friary of St Anthony, would have provided ample opportunities to meditate on the two paintings of the *Lignum vitae*, which were next to the chapter hall of the convent. The double example of the *Lignum vitae* in the Paduan convent, possibly painted by Giotto di Bondone, had a primary role in the transmission of this iconography in northern Italy. In addition, the idea in the Assisi tapestry of depicting the body of St Francis as the trunk of a tree may have been inspired by a long iconographic tradition, which has its prototype in the fourteenth-century painting of the *Lignum vitae Sancti Francisci* in the Paduan convent.

I also believe that the Assisi tapestry shares the same communicative strategy as the aforementioned celebrative images commissioned by Sixtus IV during his pontificate, such as those of Santo Spirito in Sassia and in the Vatican Library. However, since the Assisi tapestry was targeted at the friars of the Assisi community, it opted for a communicative language based on historical and theological references rather than on the exaltation of Sixtus' magnificence. The tapestry was probably exhibited in the choir of the upper basilica, or in one of the common rooms of the friary, such as the chapter house, where the friars kept their meetings and took fundamental decisions on the government and the future of the Order.<sup>33</sup> It is important to remember that a large depiction of the *Lignum vitae*, which is now lost, was also present in the mother-house friary in Assisi. In the sixteenth century, a preparatory drawing of the *Lignum vitae* was seen by Giorgio Vasari in the refectory of the friary, of which Vasari gave a detailed description. In a previous study, I sought to demonstrate that this lost painting may have been conceived by Giotto, and was probably painted around 1319, when the Ghibelline uprising in Assisi led by Muzio di Francesco caused an abrupt interruption of the decorative work being carried out at the St Francis complex.<sup>34</sup>

Scholars agree in recognising that the aim of the Assisi tapestry was to emphasise the origins that the various members of the Franciscan Order had in common.<sup>35</sup> The reference to a key figure in the Order's history, that is, Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, highlights Sixtus' attempt to conciliate different groups within the Franciscan movement. Serving as minister general, Bonaventure regulated and codified a number of practical interpretations of the Rule into the Constitutions of Narbonne (1260), in order to diminish the radicalists and moderate the extremists. In the second half of the thirteenth century, the Franciscan Order was undergoing internal discord, since the faction of the Spirituals strove for a rigorous application of the vow of poverty, while the Conventuals supported a laxer interpretation of the Rule. Bonaventure as minister general used his authority so prudently that he managed to preserve the unity of the Order and reconcile the two factions. At the time of Sixtus IV, the divisions within the Order were growing inexorably.

If we accept the hypothesis that the tapestry was commissioned by Sixtus IV and donated to the Basilica of St Francis at Assisi then we can see the same idea of reconciliation. This would explain why the tapestry portrays together such a variety of Franciscans from different social extractions. The tapestry includes nobles of high-born origins (a queen, a royal prince who rejected the throne, an aristocrat), and also personages of humble origins.<sup>36</sup> This variety includes not only an accurate representation from the three Orders instituted by Francis but also several extremists: Bernardino of Siena, who was one of the leaders of the Observants, and Peter Auriol, whose *Tractatus de paupertate et usu pauper* was a strong stance against the extreme spiritualists within the movement.<sup>37</sup>

Bonaventure of Bagnoregio is the main reference point of the Assisi tapestry, not only because the source is Bonaventure's *Lignum vitae* but also because Bonaventure was taken as a role model by Sixtus IV in order to make a plea to preserve the unity of the Franciscan Order. The connection between the two is strengthened by the decisive impulse that the pope gave to the canonisation process of Bonaventure: it was Sixtus IV himself, indeed, who celebrated with much solemnity in Rome on 14 April 1482 the feast for the official canonisation of Bonaventure of Bagnoregio. Since in the tapestry Bonaventure is depicted without the halo of saints, scholars have traditionally dated the tapestry between 1471 (the year Sixtus IV was elected pope) and 1482. It is possible, in my opinion, to date the creation of the tapestry to around the year 1478. The inscription *TRES ORDINES HIC ORDINAT* written on the canopy is a precise quotation from an antiphon included in the rhymed Office of St Francis, composed mainly by Julian of Speyer probably in 1230, upon commission from the government of the Order.<sup>38</sup> But the first parts of the rhymed Office of St Francis were initially conceived by other anonymous authors after the canonisation of Francis in 1228. These offices were customarily created on the occasion of the official ceremony of canonisation of saints. As a consequence, the inclusion in the tapestry of the quotation from the antiphon *Tres Ordines hic ordinat*, with its allusion to the existence of the only three official Orders, would have made sense especially for the celebration of sestercentennial anniversary of the canonisation of Francis of Assisi, in 1478.

In conclusion, the Assisi tapestry can be considered as an additional example of Sixtus IV's practice of using art as an instrument of political propaganda aimed at preventing the division of the Order. All of Sixtus' attempts to preserve the unity of the Franciscan Order only had limited success and were doomed to failure. A few decades later, once it was clear that the Order could not be kept unified, Pope Leo X in 1517 summoned a General Chapter at Santa Maria in Aracoeli in Rome. On 29 May 1517, he promulgated the papal letter *Ite vos* (also known as the *Bolla separationis*), which officially sanctioned the separation between the Observants and Conventuals, with the establishment of two fully independent families.

## Notes

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- 3 *Corpus Numismatum Omnium Romanorum Pontificum*, I: *Da San Pietro (42–67) a Adriano VI (1522–1523)*, ed. by Adolfo Modesti (Rome, 2002), no. 133; Jill Elizabeth Blondin, 'Power Made Visible: Pope Sixtus IV as *Urbis Restaurator* in Quattrocento Rome', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 91 (2005), 1–25; Minou Schraven, 'Founding Rome Anew: Pope Sixtus IV and the Foundation of Ponte Sisto, 1473', in *Foundation, Dedication and Consecration in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Minou Schraven and Maarten Delbeke (Leiden, 2011), pp. 129–51.
- 4 Eunice D. Howe, *The Hospital of Santo Spirito and Pope Sixtus IV* (New York, 1978); Carla Keyvanian, *Hospitals and Urbanism in Rome, 1200–1500* (Leiden, 2015), pp. 339–84.
- 5 Alessandra Maria Cassiani, 'Sisto IV e l'ospedale di Santo Spirito in Sassia: il ciclo pittorico della corsia sistina', in *Le confraternite romane: arte, storia, committenza*, ed. by Claudio Crescentini and Antonio Martini (Rome, 2000), pp. 77–85; Simona Magrelli, 'Un' ipotesi sulla datazione degli affreschi della Corsia Sistina', *Il Veltro*, 46 (2002), 25–33.
- 6 José Ruyschaert, 'La Bibliothèque vaticane dans les dix premières années du pontificat de Sixte IV', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 24 (1986), 71–90; Leonard E. Boyle, 'Sixtus IV and the Vatican Library', in *Rome: Tradition, Innovation and Renewal*, ed. by Clifford M. Brown, John Osbourne and W. Chandler Kirwin (Victoria, BC, 1991), pp. 65–73.
- 7 'Templa, domum expositis, vicos, fora, mœnia, pontes | Virgineam Trivii quod repararis aquam | Prisca licet nautis statuas dare commoda portus | Et Vaticanum cingere, Sixte, jugum | Plus tamen urbs debet: nam quae squalore latebat | Cernitur in celebri Bibliotheca loco.' For the inscription and its translation see David Rijser, 'The Practical Function of High Renaissance Epigram: The Case of Raphael's Grave', in *The Neo-Latin Epigram: A Learned and Witty Genre*, ed. by Karl A. E. Enekel, Susanna de Beer and David Rijser (Leuven, 2009), pp. 103–36 (pp. 106–07). The inscription is also discussed in Matthias Winner, 'Papa Sisto IV quale *exemplum virtutis magnificentiae* nell'affresco di Melozzo da Forlì', in *Arte, committenza ed economia a Roma e nelle corti del rinascimento, 1420–1530*, ed. by Arnold Esch and Christoph Luitpold Frommel (Turin, 1995), pp. 171–95 (pp. 180–81).
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- 11 Viale Ferrero, p. 164; Campbell, p. 69.
  - 12 Viale Ferrero, p. 159.
  - 13 Chiara Frugoni, *Francesco e l'invenzione delle stimate: una storia per parole e immagini fino a Bonaventura e Giotto* (Turin, 1993).
  - 14 André Vauchez, *Les laïcs au Moyen Âge. Pratiques et expériences religieuses* (Paris, 1987), pp. 211–24.
  - 15 The presence of the rosary held in the hands of Elzéar of Sabran is of particular interest because of the quarrel between the Franciscans and Dominicans about priority in the cult of the rosary, which increased rapidly during the third quarter of the fifteenth century. The Dominican inquisitor in Germany, Jacob Sprenger, founded the first confraternity of the Rosary at Cologne in 1475, a society that was especially favoured by Sixtus IV. The choice to ascribe the cult rosary to a Franciscan who lived more than a century earlier was a claim to priority in the dissemination of the cult of Mary. See Viale Ferrero, p. 162; Campbell, p. 66.
  - 16 Elizabeth was the daughter of Andrew II, king of Hungary, and she married Louis IV, landgrave of Thuringia.
  - 17 'For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive' (I Corinthians 15.22) and 'The first man Adam became a living being; the last Adam became a life-giving spirit' (I Corinthians 15.45).
  - 18 Viale Ferrero, p. 164.
  - 19 The *editio princeps* of the *Lignum vitae* is in Sanctus Bonaventura, *Opera omnia*, ed. by PP. Collegii a S. Bonaventura, 10 vols (Quaracchi, 1882–1902), viii: 68–86.
  - 20 'The Lord God made all kinds of trees grow out of the ground – trees that were pleasing to the eye and good for food. In the middle of the garden were the tree of life and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil' (Genesis 2.9); 'On each side of the river stood the tree of life, bearing twelve crops of fruit, yielding its fruit every month. And the leaves of the tree are for the healing of the nations' (Revelation 22.2).
  - 21 Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 123.
  - 22 *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University*, ed. by Barbara A. Shailor, 4 vols (Binghamton, NY, 1984–2004), ii: 329–30.
  - 23 *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting*, iii.2: *The Fourteenth Century*, ed. by Richard Offner with Klara Steinweg, continued under the dir. of Miklós Boskovits, 2nd edn (Florence, 1987), pp. 108–21; see also *Cataloghi della Galleria dell'Accademia di Firenze: Dipinti*, i: *Dal Duecento a Giovanni da Milano*, ed. by Miklós Boskovits and Angelo Tartuferi (Florence, 2003), pp. 199–205.
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  - 27 Alessandro Simbeni, 'Gli affreschi di Taddeo Gaddi nel refettorio: programma, committenza e datazione, con una postilla sulla diffusione del modello iconografico del *Lignum vitae* in Catalogna', in *Santa Croce*, ed. by Andrea De Marchi and Giacomo Piraz (Pistoia, 2011), pp. 113–41.

- 28 Enrica Cozzi, 'Giotto e bottega al Santo: gli affreschi della sala capitolare, dell'andito e delle cappelle radiali', *Il Santo*, 42 (2002), 77–91; Alessandro Simbeni, 'Il *Lignum vitae sancti Francisci* in due dipinti di primo Trecento a Padova e Verona', *Il Santo*, 46 (2006), 185–214; Serena Romano, 'La sala capitolare del Santo di Padova: gli eventi del 1310', *Il Santo*, 51 (2011), 417–30; Alessandro Simbeni, 'Le pitture del "parlatorio" nel convento di Sant'Antonio e l'intervento di Giotto', *Il Santo*, 51 (2011), 431–52.
- 29 Lina Bolzoni, *La rete delle immagini: predicazione in volgare dalle origini a Bernardino da Siena* (Turin, 2002), pp. 187–90.
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- 32 Campbell, p. 69.
- 33 Donadieu-Rigaut, p. 316.
- 34 Alessandro Simbeni, 'L'iconografia del *Lignum vitae* in Umbria nel XIV secolo e un'ipotesi su un perduto prototipo di Giotto ad Assisi', *Franciscana*, 9 (2007), 149–83.
- 35 Viale Ferrero, p. 162; Campbell, p. 66.
- 36 Viale Ferrero, p. 162.
- 37 Campbell, p. 66.
- 38 See the introduction by Giuseppe Cremascoli in Iulianus de Spira, 'Officium sancti Francisci', in *Fontes Franciscani*, ed. by Enrico Menestò, Stefano Brufani and Giuseppe Cremascoli (Assisi, 1997), pp. 1099–1104; Donadieu-Rigaut, pp. 318–19; and especially Jean-Baptiste Lebigue, 'Julien de Spire et la Vie de saint François', in *François d'Assise: Écrits, Vies et témoignages*, ed. by Jacques Dalarun (Paris, 2010), pp. 705–38.

**Part II**

**Structural Restrictions  
and Challenges to Papal  
Authority**





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## 5 Crisis and Antagonism

### Contending Popes as a Challenge to Papal Authority<sup>1</sup>

*Harald Müller*

‘Having gouged out his eyes and cut off his nose and ears they sat the Greek pseudo-pope back to front on a donkey, gave him the animal’s tail to hold and paraded him all over town’.<sup>2</sup> This is how Arnulf of Milan, in around 1080, somewhat laconically describes the cruel fate of John Philagatos, who had served as Pope John XVI from April 997 to May 998, but is considered legitimate by neither the Church nor historical research. In fact, he is regarded as what one could term an anti-pope. John, once a confidant of Emperor Otto III and archbishop of Piacenza, suffered brutal physical punishment for the short period of time in which he occupied the episcopal throne in Rome. Never again would he have been able to hold a priestly office, and he was forever stigmatised by having had his ears and nose cut off. The unfortunate John was handed over to a synod, which formally removed him from office and stripped him of his papal insignia. This was followed by the ignominy of a public parade in which the offender was handed over to the people of Rome, who relished the chance to shower him with verbal and indeed actual ordure. Nothing is known of John’s end. He disappeared into a monastery and was never heard of again.

The case of John Philagatos is not unique. And while the punishment of this would-be pope is notable for its brutality, rough treatment was not uncommon for failed interlopers of the *cathedra Petri*, especially in the Early Middle Ages. Robust disputes over the episcopate were no rarity in Rome. In 1121, Gregory VIII – called ‘Burdinus’ (donkey) – also experienced publicly orchestrated humiliation. He had crowned Emperor Henry V, but without Henry’s protection, he was defenceless against his opponents upon their return to Rome. Burdinus was detained and like John XVI before him, he was marched through Rome to demonstrate the failure of Gregory VIII, putative bishop of Rome, in a public celebration of the victory of Pope Calixtus II over his adversary. The two men’s roles were clear: on the one hand, the rightful pope, who had successfully asserted himself, on the other the presumptuous rival, the loser, the anti-pope.

Such a situation is depicted with abundant clarity in a contemporary fresco in the Lateran Palace, which shows Alexander II using his defeated

adversary Honorius as a footrest, seemingly crushing his rival's head as one might the head of a snake. This image of a victorious papacy has set the pattern for how rival claimants to the episcopal throne of Rome have been viewed – as interlopers, failures, bogus distortions of the true papacy. And this is how both the Church and historical research have traditionally treated the thirty or so such cases that arose between the third and fifteenth centuries in their quest to determine the question of papal legitimacy clearly.<sup>3</sup>

This may well be a sensible approach for a Church that is keen, with good reason, to trace a clear and unequivocal lineage for the office of St Peter. For historical research, however, focusing narrowly on the question of legality or legitimacy is a limiting factor, which carries the risk of overlooking other insights. Rather, we should define the very word 'anti-pope' not in judgemental terms but as neutrally descriptive, focusing on the disputes and confrontations between the antagonists themselves, exploring the dynamics and strategies deployed to secure claims to the papal throne.

Rather than concentrating on historical events as such, this chapter attempts to convey an overall impression of the contest between rival popes in four distinct sections. The first section takes a closer look at the subject of anti-popes in terms of definitions, numbers and interpretations. The second section explores the antagonistic aspect referred to above, or the 'anti' element of the term anti-pope. This will form the core of the chapter and will present typical examples of the arsenal of strategies used by adversaries in striving for success. The third section introduces a diachronic perspective: in other words, times changed and with it the ways in which a beaten adversary was treated. Finally, the fourth section evaluates the struggles for the *cathedra Petri*, examining the degree to which they represented genuine periods of crisis for the Church, and discusses the results that this subject might yield within a framework such as this.

### **Anti-Popes in the Middle Ages**

So, what exactly is an anti-pope? The relevant dictionary entries define it as someone who falsely holds the name and office of pope. It represents the usurpation of the office of the bishop of Rome, the illegitimate nature of which chiefly derives from one of three points:

1. the illegitimate election of a candidate following the death of the incumbent;
2. an unclear election result in such a context or
3. the appropriation of the Roman bishopric in competition with and disregard of an incumbent.

However, these basic circumstances reveal nothing as to the legitimacy of individual claims. Electoral procedures were rarely as clear-cut or

unambiguous as to enable a precise distinction to be drawn between lawful and uncanonical elevations. This also explains why the number of alleged anti-popes varies between twenty-five and forty, starting with Hippolytus in 217 and ending with the abdication of Felix V in 1449.<sup>4</sup>

A further difficulty is what the rather enigmatic term ‘anti-pope’ means in practical terms. For example, it can be used to describe both the brief usurpation of the Holy See by Anastasius Bibliothecarius in the ninth century and the series of competing popes, each with his own following and administrative offices, during the Western Schism that divided all of Europe between 1378 and 1417. Can papal candidates, who emerged from the smouldering conflict between secular powers and the papacy, be grouped in the same category as those who arose during the course of normal debate between cardinals during papal elections? And finally: is the term ‘anti-pope’ of any use at all in the context of a time when the word papacy, as understood in the guise it came to assume in the High and Late Middle Ages, with its claim to universal leadership, was not yet truly applicable? Are these not, rather, just local conflicts limited to Rome?

Hasty generalisations do not do justice to this multi-faceted phenomenon. The traditional view focusing on issues of legality not only overlooks the uncertainty surrounding contemporary legal fundamentals as such but it also overlooks the fact that justified, legitimate claims were not automatically successful. For example, as far as we know, a split vote of the cardinals in 1130 ascribed a higher entitlement to the papal throne to Anacletus II over the claim of his rival, Innocent II. Anacletus drove Innocent from Rome but was in the end defeated after Innocent secured the support of the continent’s most important monarchs – and also because Innocent outlived him. So apart from legal aspects, there are also political and military factors to consider, and, not least, the matter of chance, of contingency. What if the army of Frederick Barbarossa had not fallen victim to a devastating outbreak of dysentery in Rome in 1167? What if his troops had seized Alexander III? In that case, the so-called Alexandrine Schism would have been ten years shorter, Frederick Barbarossa would have installed ‘his’ pope, and the history not just of this conflict would have been very different.<sup>5</sup>

Observations such as these necessitate a shift in perspective, from one of judgement to one of considering the rival claims of the antagonists. It is understandable that the Church needs clear-cut judgements. Theological purity has always been linked to the idea of an uninterrupted, unambiguous line from Peter to Francis – the so-called Apostolic Succession – and a profound argument underpinning the Roman claim to leadership. Any fracture, any ambiguity in the sequence threatened its legitimacy, potentially undermining the historical authority of the papacy itself. Historians, however, are free of such constraints. They are obliged to ask other questions: how did conflicts come about? How did they develop? What were the reasons for success or failure?

## Antagonisms

Let us now take a closer look at the conflicts involving the office of the bishop of Rome and try to find typical behavioural patterns. First of all, we need to remind ourselves that we are studying disputes whose outcomes were undecided. In 1409, the treatises grappling with the settlement of the Western Schism in preparation for the Council of Pisa aptly referred to the popes of the warring factions as *contententes*, as adversaries, as opponents. This highlights the antagonistic nature of the situation, one of the unresolved disputes. And it is in this sense that our term ‘anti-pope’, or rather the plural ‘anti-popes’, takes on a heuristic sense.

*Contententes*, opposing, conflicting popes – and this is the second important finding – also describe an external view of the disputes. Like the term ‘schism’, it identifies a split, or rather a duplication, a doubling, which it assigns to the main actors. The *contententes* themselves, however, had a completely different view of the situation. The respective evidence we can assign to the conflicting parties demonstrates no such ambivalence. In fact, it is marked by the distinct expression of reciprocal asymmetry in which the protagonist is the legitimate pope, while his competitor merely lays claim to the office, is a fake, a would-be pope; by accusing his opponent of heresy, the protagonist portrays himself as legitimate. We will come back to this thought in more detail later.

Looking at the means used in these struggles for office, three main categories stand out:

1. brute force;
2. acting as pope and the use of papal administrative powers;
3. the means of communication we just looked at.

Brute force is the topic most easily dealt with, as the history of the anti-popes is not short of violence. Particularly in the Early and High Middle Ages, when becoming a bishop was a popular career option for the sons of the urban elite, the streets of Rome often saw violent clashes that sometimes ended fatally for the prospective bishops. The conflict between Ursinus and Damasus in 366 falls into this category, with the term usurper carrying strong allusions to the use of violence. The appropriation of the papal throne by Constantine II (767/68) was marked by bloody battles between the Romans and the Lombard army, which had been summoned to provide assistance. A similar picture emerges in the cases of Deacon John (844) and Boniface VI (972), while the *Liber pontificalis*, the semi-official historiography of the Roman pontiffs, refers to various other cases as *contentiones*, intra-Roman party conflicts, which may well be described as typical.<sup>6</sup> The defeated Constantine II, John XVI (998) and Gregory VIII (1121) were subjected to public humiliation in Rome by their opponents, forced to ride back to front on a donkey. The violent maiming of John XVI was likely done by

the troops who had seized him. And as late as the twelfth century the flights from Rome of Innocent II and Alexander III can only be interpreted as a direct reaction to the superiority of the respective opposing parties making it impossible for them to remain. But unlike in earlier times, the schisms of the twelfth century were no longer decided within Rome. Their impact had long moved beyond the walls of the eternal city.<sup>7</sup> For the more the bishops of Rome succeeded in gaining supremacy of the Latin Church, the more important it became to secure the support of forces within the *orbis*. Rome's claim to universal leadership, as Gregory VII had laid down in his *Dictatus papae* in 1075, was no more than that: a claim. Making the claim a reality laid in the hands of the Church and the faithful in the Latin world. Their inclination towards one or the other of the contenders decided the battle for the highest office in the Church. The dual election of 1130 is a good example of this. While Innocent II was probably at a disadvantage in the election given the cardinals' support for Anacletus, he was quite clearly inferior in terms of his ability to hold Rome. Thanks to support from his family, Anacletus forced Innocent into exile, but this proved a pyrrhic victory in the long run, for, while in exile, Innocent gained the recognition of both France and England, and the support of the German King who, together with his army, accompanied Innocent back to Rome in 1133, where the German King was crowned emperor. Anacletus, however, held on to Rome, southern Italy and Sicily, which he made a kingdom and where, in cooperation with King Roger II, he created a homogenously structured Church that was firmly oriented towards Rome. The flourishing new religious movements of the Cistercians and Premonstratensians formed part of Innocent's faction.<sup>8</sup> In this period of general uncertainty caused by the schism, the pope and aspiring religious orders supported each other. During another schism three decades later, Alexander III would be able to fall back on the by-then fully developed orders, who proved reliable supporters.<sup>9</sup>

In his struggle with Anacletus, Innocent benefitted from being able to use the powers and networks of the chancellery thanks to the support of papal chancellor Cardinal Haimeric, while Anacletus was forced to improvise in all of these areas.<sup>10</sup> It was far easier for Innocent to disseminate his message by publishing hundreds of letters in the *orbis*, and by issuing official documents demonstrating his authority as judge and grantor of privileges. Add to that the deployment of papal legates and especially the unreserved support he received from Bernard of Clairvaux – head of the Cistercian order and surely the most prominent cleric of his time – and one can say that Innocent enjoyed a massive structural advantage. It is no wonder that his supporters enjoyed great success when it came to shaping public opinion about who was the legitimate pope. More recent publications describe this as successful propaganda, while the always trenchant German papal historian Johannes Haller simply calls it an 'avalanche of slanderous filth'.<sup>11</sup>

This leads us to the third and most important tool: communication. This is of course a most appropriate area for historians, since most of

our knowledge about the past is gleaned from contemporary sources of communication, in this particular case from chronicles and tracts, documents and letters, but also from paintings and inscriptions. But when evaluating contesting testimonies about disputes over the papal throne, we have to differentiate very carefully between the interior perspectives of the contemporary adversaries and their allies on the one hand, and the assessments of later historiography – a kind of exterior perspective – on the other. Neither is neutral, but a certain distance to the actual events alters the intensity of the opinions expressed and with it the terms used to express them.

The interior perspective of the disputes is marked by the fact that an actual competition for the papacy is explicitly denied, or rather ignored. What is ignored more than anything else is the opponent's claim to papal legitimacy. This was a strategy for which St Peter's successors were easy game, not least because since the middle of the tenth century the bishops of Rome chose a new name for themselves to mark their transition to popedom. At this point an opponent could step in: just as King Henry IV had called upon the 'false monk Hildebrand' to step down from the papal throne, ostentatiously disregarding both the papal name of the addressee – Gregory VII – and his position. Burdinus, who we have already heard about, was never called Gregory VIII by his opponents, Petrus Pierleoni was never called Anacletus II, Clement III remained Wibert of Ravenna among the Gregorians, and in Otto of Freising's work about Frederick Barbarossa's achievements, Pope Alexander III is only ever called *magister Rolandus*, never by his papal name – the only exception is in an interpolated letter not written in Otto's own hand.<sup>12</sup> And when in 1111, after six years as anti-pope, Sylvester IV laid the office into the hands of his victorious adversary Paschalis II, henceforth he only ever referred to himself by the name given to him at baptism: Maginulf.<sup>13</sup> In terms of the interior perspectives of those concerned, there were never two popes, just one pope fighting an iniquitous threat to the unity of the Church.

Interestingly, this perspective is also reflected in the terms used to describe the phenomenon of competing popes in contemporary sources. While the terms 'antipapa', 'anti-pope', 'antipape' exist in all European languages of today, the Latin *antipapa* hardly appears in medieval sources at all. It does not crop up until around 1130 and is used most frequently as a descriptive term in chronicles rather than in confrontational discourse. Apart from its associative proximity to the term *antichrist*, it appears to lack any defamatory connotation. There are two other terms, which were commonly used to describe 'the other': *invasor* and *pseudopapa*. The term *intrusus/invasor* (also, but less frequently, *usurpator*) denotes the illegal, often violent act of 'seizing' the office. This may reflect the realities of struggles for the papal throne but it also alludes to a legalistic aspect: *invasio*, forceful entry, is part of the canonical definition of schism since late antiquity.<sup>14</sup> *Pseudopapa*, in contrast, is somewhat more specific. Individuals thus described are grouped together with the *pseudoprophetæ*, the false prophets of the Apocalypse.<sup>15</sup> By definition, *pseudopapa* is, therefore, not only a term of vilification but

also carries an allegation of heresy, accompanied by all the dreadful visions from the Old Testament, and by accusations of idolatry and apostasy, culminating in the striking title of *haeresiarcha* – duke of the heretics. In a slanderous pamphlet against Felix V – elevated to the papacy by the Council of Basle in 1439 – Poggio Bracciolini, a Florentine classical scholar in the service of Pope Eugene IV, gives an impressive demonstration of the range of this arsenal of defamation. To him, the last medieval anti-pope was the Architect of Evil, Satan's Disciple, Cerberus, Mahomet, Antichrist, Diocletian, Arius and Moloch and a *monstrum horrendum* according to Virgil.<sup>16</sup>

This list of alleged religious malefactors could go on and on, but ultimately all these titles are nothing other than characterisations of evil. They are polemical cyphers, shorthand used to describe fundamental disputes, ecclesiastical schisms or condemnations as pagan gods or Satan himself. The names were familiar to contemporary readers or listeners, part of everyone's basic religious framework, so to speak, allusions anybody could understand.

Korah, Dathan, Abiram and their story were well known without the explicit mention of Numbers 16 and the rising up against Moses. Everyone knew the gruesome story of how the earth opened underneath them and swallowed the blasphemic Dathan and Abiram.<sup>17</sup> In his *decretum*, Gratian includes them among the *pseudoprophetae* and heathen whom he accuses, in particular, of violating the unity of the faith. As such, Dathan and Abiram were even mentioned by name in the papal electoral constitution *Licet de evitanda* of the Third Lateran Council of 1179, which had been convoked with the explicit aim of ending the schism at the top of the Church once and for all.<sup>18</sup>

The term *pseudopapa* fits in with this well-filled apocalyptic arsenal of denigration and confirms the central importance of directing accusations of heresy at a rival for the papal throne. These various forms of stigmatisation as well as the term *pseudopapa* itself are especially effective as they are asymmetrical counter-concepts as introduced by the German historian Reinhard Koselleck. De-legitimising and denouncing an adversary as a heretic served vigorously to underline one's own orthodoxy and legitimacy, just as in antiquity the stigma of barbarism underscored, by contrast, the refinement of the Greeks.

Why, though, should the concept of heresy be so important in disputes over the papacy, given that the nature of the problem is administrative, a structural duplication of the top of the Church? There are two aspects we need to consider: the unity of the Church as a dogmatic prerequisite and, since the middle of the eleventh century, the claim to universal leadership by the bishops of Rome. Around the middle of the twelfth century, the *Decretum Gratiani* had basically laid down in the genetic code of the Roman Church that *papa a nemine est iudicandum* (the pope is judged by no one), in other words, the basic freedom of the bishop of Rome not to have to answer to any court.<sup>19</sup> This decree formed the logical foundation underpinning Roman Primacy: the pope was at the top of the hierarchy, governing the Church from Rome, and



subject to no effective control. Only one thing could undermine his privilege of being above the judgement of others: being found guilty of heresy, of apostasy: *nisi a fide devius* (unless he deviates from the faith). The Church of Rome defined itself as a communion of salvation, so having a heretic as pope would have meant rejection of all the Church stood for.

At the time, the term ‘heresy’ was rather loosely defined. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, Gunter of Pairis explicitly cited the violent tearing oneself away from ecclesiastical unity (*unitas*) as distinct heretical behaviour even if anti-popes and schismatics (*antipapa et schismaticus*) maintained the profession of the faith (*forma fidei*).<sup>20</sup> Actively pursuing schism was also a form of heresy. In a defining note which allowed no contradiction, half a century earlier and in a literal reference to St Augustine, the *Tractatus de schismatici* stated the following: ‘haereticus est qui non sequitur catholicam fidem. Scismaticus est qui non amplectitur catholicam pacem. Quid autem dicit catholicam pacem nisi universalis ecclesiae concordiam?’ (‘A heretic is he who does not follow the true faith, a schismatic is he who is not embraced by the true peace. And what can true peace be if not unity with the universal Church?’).<sup>21</sup> With scholastic perceptiveness the anonymous author not only establishes the heretic quality of schismatic actions – anyone who destroys the unity of the Church is a heretic! – but also encapsulates the Church’s ancient character as an indivisible entity, as the *una sancta ecclesia* of the profession of faith. The unity of the Church must be preserved and – to quote a term from Arnulf of Lisieux’s opening sermon at the (Alexandrine) Council of Tours in 1163 – that unity is quite naturally the ‘*unitas catholica*’.<sup>22</sup> This perception remains until the end of the Middle Ages even if ideas about who guaranteed this unity, and how disrupted or lost unity might be restored, changed with the times.<sup>23</sup>

A second form of heretical behaviour against ecclesiastical unity was defined and used by the papacy from the mid-eleventh century as a weapon against those who would sow disruption: the heresy of disobedience.<sup>24</sup> Jurists of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries diligently shaped and developed this idea, but it was also the general consensus that concordance with Rome was the only path to salvation. Thus, Gerhoch of Reichersberg (d. 1167) encapsulated his thoughts on heresy in the following sentence: ‘hereticum esse constat qui a Romana ecclesia discordat’ (‘it is evident that he who departs from the unity of the Church of Rome is a heretic’).<sup>25</sup> In the struggles for the papal throne, a tried and tested method was to denounce any competitor as heretic and to excommunicate him – usually the first act of self-assertion once in office.

## Changes

The preceding sections have highlighted a few basic aspects of the competition for the papal office and how it was dealt with. The notion of change that comes with time is an integral part of this topic. There are great differences

regarding the ways in which conflicts were resolved. The subject of *memoria* lends itself to a short reflection. By *memoria*, I mean ‘the establishment of a specific memory’, in other words, the attempt to gain sovereignty over the interpretation of schism and how it ends. In so doing we remain in the context of acts of communication, which means following the well-worn path that takes us to the familiar idea that history tends to be written by the victors.

Describing a rival’s defeat represented an important first step towards shaping memory. Public humiliations of the sort described earlier were punishments, of course, but, more importantly, they served as a public demonstration of the wrongdoer’s failure. Captured by Calixtus II in 1121, would-be Pope Gregory VIII was paraded through Rome and abused by the public who bombarded him with excrement.<sup>26</sup> It was the exact opposite of a triumphal procession, an inversion of all the trappings and symbols of the papacy: a camel to ride on instead of the papal white horse, clad in the bloody hide of a goat instead of the pope’s purple robe, seated back to front, the animal’s tail for reins. Everybody, whether they were literate or not, could read the symbolism of the scene: the attempt to install a new order had failed and was held up for ridicule. The true order was now re-installed and would endure. A well-calculated message, but one whose impact, in the twelfth century, necessarily remained local; news of public humiliations faded as quickly as the significance of schisms grew beyond Rome and was broadcast into the wider *orbis christianus*.

The usual fate for vanquished papal rivals was presumably monastic imprisonment, or at least there is historical evidence that this was the case for some. Mostly, however, there are no records about what happened to them until their death and thereafter. This may be because the excommunicated were not permitted a church burial, but was most probably part of a simple information strategy: rivals were denied all publicity, and monastery walls provided an effective means of concealment. The graves of only a few are known.<sup>27</sup> Pope Paschal II appears to have had Clement III/Wibert of Ravenna, who had died in 1100, exhumed following a spate of rumours about miracles happening around his tomb in Civit  Castellana. Decades later something similar happened to Victor IV in Lucca. Here, too, a cult seems to have developed around his grave.<sup>28</sup> These acts of destruction follow the same logic that saw the grave of Hitler’s deputy Rudolf He  turn into an annual place of German neo-Nazi pilgrimage on the anniversary of his death, or the decision of the United States of America to bury the remains of Osama Bin Laden at sea to prevent anywhere or anything becoming a focus of martyrdom.

Overall, the number of known burial places of defeated anti-popes has grown over time. They were barred from the traditional resting places of the Roman bishops, San Giovanni in Laterano and St Peter, but from 1333, with the burial of Nicholas V, first their fellow monks and later also their family and followers were allowed to erect tombs – far from Rome –

commemorate those who had failed and their respective ambitions. This is no accident. Parallel to these burials we can see an increasingly mild treatment of the vanquished rivals even in their lifetime. During the Second Lateran Council in 1139, Innocent II had emphasised the recovered unity of the Church among other means by personally stripping the cardinals of his adversary Anacletus of the insignia of their cardinalate.<sup>29</sup> Only three decades later, Alexander III granted Calixtus III, the last of his competitors supported by the emperor, a position as papal vicar of Benevento in Italy after Calixtus had gone into submission.<sup>30</sup> Having forsworn all ambitions to the papacy and admitted the errors of his ways, Nicholas V spent the rest of his life in honourable imprisonment in the papal palace at Avignon, and Felix V, the last medieval anti-pope, was given the prestigious title of cardinal-bishop of Sabina and made a permanent papal legate in Savoy, where he had previously been duke. One might say that anti-popes were re-socialised within the Roman Church.<sup>31</sup>

The ways in which schism was dealt with had changed, and it had become possible to decide whether to react to schism with force or moderation. The experience of long-lasting schisms splitting the entire continent – since 1130 no extraordinary occurrence, especially during the Late Middle Ages – had encouraged this development. Only compromise could help to limit the consequences of such profound upheaval. Compensatory solutions were the basis of a necessary reconsolidation of the Church as a whole, the foundation of a newly won *unitas* under an unambiguous leadership. We must not forget, however, that if a schism consolidated, the emergence of a parallel ecclesiastical hierarchy and followers could create a rapidly growing number of people who then had much, sometimes everything, to lose: who would remain cardinal when two papal factions merged back into one Church? Who would lose his benefices, who his Holy Orders when the split was resolved, who had been truly consecrated? None of these questions could be resolved by a strategy of concealment which had been the method of choice of those in power in the Early Middle Ages.

## **Crises**

What can we learn from systematic research into contentious papal ennoblements? Without doubt, we are looking at crises of the office which – depending on their duration and reach – had the potential to develop into crises of the Church as a whole. The term ‘crisis’ needs to be understood in both senses: the overused modern term denoting a whole host of uncertainties, and the more precise, historical meaning of the word.<sup>32</sup> Of all the semantic variations which the ancient Greek *krisis* has developed over time, the most promising for us would seem to be its use in a medical context, where ‘crisis’ is used to describe the decisive point in an illness, after which the patient either recovers or dies. Thus, our view of key turning points and moments in the course of events is thrown into sharper focus, like a

blown-up image, highlighting a fundamentally heuristic aspect of the word, and one that appears very well suited when looking at the competitive and decisive signature of papal rivalries.<sup>33</sup> Our modern-day use of the term – bold and simple – in its unsubtly qualifying sense of disruption, disorder, destruction is not without potential, either. From then as now, disruption is the awareness of unsettling developments, perceived negatively. At its most fundamental, the word ‘crisis’ signifies a phenomenon of discourse. For without being able to talk about schism, anti-popes and the traces they have left behind, the historian would have almost no means to define events and their potential for unrest.<sup>34</sup> Contemporaries’ perceptions and the way they expressed themselves, characterised the nature of the crisis in the first place. The significance of this for our subject is that, beyond any doubt, anti-popes are by and large the result of, or have even been created by, the language used to describe the crises themselves.

Understanding the word ‘crisis’ in the dual sense, namely, as perceived disruption on the one hand and as a decisive turning point on the other, reveals to us, as though viewed through a lens, both the disruption and doubt themselves, as well as the ways of overcoming them during the struggles for control in Rome. Patterns of argument, the forging of political coalitions, controlling public perceptions – we can discern all of this; in a somewhat exaggerated fashion, you might call it the creation of anti-popes by word and deed. In that sense, we are dealing with the dangerous duplication of the highest office in the Latin Church. The consequences of this were first and foremost political and structural. The fight to secure the support of secular sources of power led to the political polarisation of the continent. If resolution was not swift, then two individual, parallel hierarchies formed. This schism travelled from the head of the Church down into its limbs and was visible to everyone: two Colleges of Cardinals, split elections of abbots in monasteries, two bishops in one town. We can find all this in the chronicles of the twelfth century.

For the people of the Middle Ages, who had virtually no alternative to the Christian Church, this meant the loss of unambiguous clarity in all they knew and did. We have very little first-hand information, but one gets a sense of tangible worry whether baptisms and burials were legitimate, or whether sacraments had, in fact, been administered by heretics. Similarly, all those who turned to the bishop of Rome regarding benefices, court decisions or privileges, had to hope that the documents they received remained valid. For if the signatory were subsequently toppled, such documents became null and void and had to be destroyed, which they were in most cases, in order to avoid suspicion of having supported the wrong pope. The volume of documents solicited by the winning party after the end of a conflict says more than enough.

Unambiguousness, its loss and its recovery, seems a crucial subject and the history of contending popes appears to confirm its importance. Did the one Church of the creed still exist at all? And the idea of apostolic succession – that, too, demanded unambiguous clarity. After all, the uninterrupted

transfer of the office of the bishop of Rome since the time of Peter had been always a cornerstone of legitimacy. At the time and through the ages there were demands for the *pseudopapae* to be removed from the list of popes so that the succession would be free from doubt.

In this phase of the conflict, the most important question is what, ultimately, formed the basis of papal legitimacy and authority. In other words, who 'made' the pope, as it were? Clerical parties in Rome itself? External powers such as the Lombards or Franks, or the emperor? And in light of this, how effective were the electoral procedures that had been designed to confer unassailable legitimacy on the victor? It is here that we can also see the unwanted duplication of the Roman episcopate as a productive crisis. The fact that cardinals were established as the sole electoral college was a consequence of the controversial elevations: we have the suffrage bestowed on the cardinal-bishops in the papal election's regulatory decree of Nicholas II in 1059 – first and foremost legitimising his own election – then inclusion of cardinal-priests and cardinal-deacons towards the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century as part of the conflict between the popes of the Gregorian line and those supported by the emperor, and finally the precept, which remains to this day, that the pope be elected by two-thirds of the cardinals, as decided at the Third Lateran Council of 1179. The main aim of this assembly was to demonstrate the Roman Church's ability to act under an unambiguous leadership after eighteen years of schism. In order to avoid duplicate elections once and for all – and presumably retrospectively to remove all doubt surrounding Alexander III's own election in 1159 – the respective rule was demonstratively formulated as the first constitution of the synod. Crisis had brought clarification.

When widening our horizon further we realise that the struggles for Rome were turning points, in other words, times of crisis in the truly classical sense of the word. Periods during which the bishopric and the ambitions that came with it were limited to the city of Rome were replaced by periods of dominance – or at least the exertion of influence – by the Roman emperor. Using a well-known polemic, the popes elevated by the northern Alpine emperors during conflicts were denounced as *idolum imperatoris*, the emperor's idols.<sup>35</sup> It is easy to see where the driving forces behind the problem were suspected.

This period ended definitively in 1121. Thereafter, papal disputes followed a different pattern. Political pressure both from within Rome as well as from outside remained, in varying degrees, but anti-popes were usually the result of a disagreement among the electors. This is another reason why the schism of 1130 marks a distinctive break. And it is also a reason for the revision of the electoral rules in 1179, a classic example of a solution from within.

The last anti-pope of the Middle Ages had – as we saw – a very different story. Felix V was elevated in 1439 by a council, which had removed the previous incumbent during a period of conflict. Felix was a 'conciliar' anti-pope and as such the product of an altered understanding of the Church. But

neither this nor his papacy endured in the Latin Church. He resigned in 1449 and together with the Church he had led for ten years he was re-integrated into obedience to Rome.

The aim of this review of the relevant historical periods has been to show that there was more to these conflicts than just graphic battle scenes and radical polemics. On close examination, we see that both conflict and triumph shed light on the pillars upon which papal authority rested, and on the arguments and strategies that were deployed to legitimise competing claims to office. It is not, however, sufficient just to leave it as a question of legitimate or illegitimate, of true or false popes. Examination of the crises created by the ‘contending popes’, the antagonisms in all their facets, throws into focus, as though viewed through a lens, the nature of papal authority, what it was founded on, and how it was gained.

## Notes

- 1 I am especially grateful to Shigeto Kikuchi (Aoyama Gakuin University) and Minoru Ozawa (Rikkyo University) for inviting me to Tokyo in order to participate in the international symposium on the medieval papacy at which I delivered an earlier version of this essay. I am grateful to Susanne Steber for providing the English version of this chapter.
- 2 Arnulf von Mailand, *Liber gestorum recentium*, ed. by Claudia Zey (Hannover, 1994), p. 135: ‘Pseudopapa vero Grecus effossis oculis, abscessis naso et auribus, dorso asine retroversus manu tenens caudam totam distrahitur per urbem.’
- 3 Cf. Ingo Herklotz, ‘Die Beratungsräume Calixtus II. im Lateranpalast und ihre Fresken. Kunst und Propaganda am Ende des Investiturstreits’, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 52 (1989), 145–214; Mary Stroll, *Symbols as Power: The Papacy Following the Investiture Contest* (Leiden, 1991), pp. 16–35 with figures 9 and 10. On Gregory VIII/Burdinus see Klaus Schreiner, ‘Gregor VIII., nackt auf einem Esel. Entehrende Entblößung und schandbares Reiten im Spiegel einer Miniatur der “Sächsischen Weltchronik”’, in *Ecclesia et regnum. Beiträge zur Geschichte von Kirche, Recht und Staat im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Franz-Josef Schmale zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Dieter Berg and Hans-Werner Goetz (Bochum, 1989), pp. 155–202 (pp. 161–70); Ruth Mellinkoff, ‘Riding Backwards: Theme of Humiliation and Symbol of Evil’, *Viator*, 4 (1973), 153–76 (pp. 154–55).
- 4 See Olivier Guyotjeannin, ‘Antipape’, in *Dictionnaire de la Papauté*, ed. by Philippe Levillain (Paris, 1994), pp. 118–21 (p. 118). For the period 1045–1449, Hermann Grotefend, *Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung*, 12th edn (Hannover, 1982), pp. 124–27, counts 22 *antipapae*, whereas Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, *Das Papsttum. Grundzüge seiner Entwicklung von der Antike bis zur Renaissance*, 6th edn (Darmstadt, 2009), pp. 369–79, names twenty-five. Armand Amanieu, ‘Antipape’, in *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, ed. by Raoul Naz, 7 vols (Paris, 1935–65), I: cols 598–622 (cols 606–16), only counts nineteen, leaving apart the opponents of the Great Western Schism (1378–1417).
- 5 Werner Maleczek, ‘Das Schisma von 1159 bis 1177. Erfolgsstrategie und Misserfolgsgründe’, in *Gegenpäpste. Ein unerwünschtes mittelalterliches Phänomen*, ed. by Harald Müller and Brigitte Hotz (Cologne, 2012), pp. 165–204 (pp. 168–75).
- 6 See Florian Hartmann, ‘Streit an der *cathedra Petri* oder Streit um die *cathedra Petri*? Konflikte um den Papstthron in der Deutung päpstlicher Quellen’, in *Streit am Hof im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. by Matthias Becher and Alheydis Plassmann (Göttingen, 2011), pp. 365–87 (pp. 367–71).

- 7 Thomas Wetzstein, 'Wie die *urbs* zum *orbis* wurde. Der Beitrag des Papsttums zur Entstehung neuer Kommunikationsräume im europäischen Hochmittelalter', in *Römisches Zentrum und kirchliche Peripherie. Das universale Papsttum als Bezugspunkt der Kirchen von den Reformpäpsten bis zu Innozenz III.*, ed. by Jochen Johrendt and Harald Müller (Berlin, 2008), pp. 47–75; idem, 'Die Welt als Sprengel. Der päpstliche Universalepiskopat zwischen 1050 und 1215', in *Die Ordnung der Kommunikation und die Kommunikation der Ordnungen*, ii: *Zentralität: Papsttum und Orden im Europa des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Cristina Andenna, Gordon Blennemann, Klaus Herbers, and Gert Melville (Stuttgart, 2013), pp. 169–90. Cf. Bernhard's of Clairvaux convincing phrase regarding Innocent's situation in a letter to archbishop Hildebert of Tours: 'pulsus urbe, ab orbe suscipitur': *Bernhard von Clairvaux, Sämtliche Werke lateinischdeutsch*, ed. by Gerhard B. Winkler, vol. ii (Innsbruck, 1992), no. 124, pp. 850–54 (quotation p. 852).
- 8 On the effects see Jochen Johrendt, 'Der Sonderfall vor der Haustüre: Kalabrien und das Papsttum', in *Zentrum*, ed. by idem and Müller, pp. 235–58.
- 9 See Hubertus Seibert, 'Autorität und Funktion: Das Papsttum und die neuen religiösen Bewegungen in Mönch- und Kanonikertum', in *Das Papsttum in der Welt des 12. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Ernst-Dieter Hehl, Ingrid Heike Ringel and Hubertus Seibert (Stuttgart, 2002), pp. 207–41.
- 10 Werner Maleczek, 'Das Kardinalskollegium unter Innocenz II. und Anaklet II.', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 19 (1981), 27–78 (pp. 48, 50, 75).
- 11 Johannes Haller, *Das Papsttum. Idee und Wirklichkeit*, 2nd edn, vol. iii (Stuttgart, 1952), p. 37; Myriam Soria Audebert, 'La propagande pontificale et sa réception au temps des schismes (XI–XII siècles). Innocent II, Anaclet II: la mémoire d'une guerre de libelles, lectures de débats', in *Comunicazione e propaganda nei secoli XII e XIII: atti del convegno internazionale. Messina, 24–26 maggio 2007*, ed. by Rossana Castano, Fortunata Latella and Tania Sorrenti (Rome, 2007), pp. 595–612. See also Harald Müller, 'Johannes Haller und die Gegenpäpste', in *Et l'homme dans tout cela? Von Menschen, Mächten und Motiven. Festschrift für Heribert Müller zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by Gabriele Annas and Jessika Nowak (Stuttgart, 2017), pp. 753–65 (p. 758).
- 12 Provost Henry of Berchtesgaden to archbishop Eberhard of Salzburg: *Ottonis et Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*, ed. by Georg Waitz and Bernhard von Simson, MGH, SS rer. Germ., 46 (Hannover, 1912), pp. 337–39 (p. 338). In the documents of the synod of Pavia (1160, *ibid.*, pp. 324–36) Alexander is always labelled *Rolandus (quondam) lolim cancellarius*.
- 13 Georg Heinrich Pertz, 'Verzeichniß der auf der Oesterreichischen Reise untersuchten Handschriften', *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 10 (1851), 447–693 (p. 464): 'Ego Monoegaldus abrenuntio omni errori, maxime quem in apostolicam sedem presumpsi et promitto fidem et oboedientiam Deo digno et catholico papæ Paschali'. See Carlo Servatius, *Paschalis II. (1099–1118). Studien zu seiner Person und zu seiner Politik* (Stuttgart, 1979), pp. 244–51.
- 14 For these basic points see Harald Müller, 'Gegenpäpste – Prüfsteine universaler Autorität im Mittelalter', in *Gegenpäpste*, ed. by idem and Hotz, pp. 13–53 (pp. 24–34); Harald Müller, 'Autorität und Krise: Der Verlust der Eindeutigkeit und seine Folgen am Beispiel mittelalterlicher Gegenpäpste – einleitende Gedanken', in *Der Verlust der Eindeutigkeit. Zur Krise päpstlicher Autorität im Kampf um die Cathedra Petri*, ed. by idem (Berlin, 2017), pp. 1–18 (pp. 10–15).
- 15 Apocalypse 6.4. See also Mark 13.22: 'For false christs and false prophets will arise and perform signs and wonders, to lead astray, if possible, the elect'. See also *Decretum Gratiani*, C. 7 q. 1 c. 9, ed. Aemilius Friedberg, *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, vol. i (Leipzig, 1879), cols 569–70, where *schismatici* were compared to *pseudoprophetae et gentiles*.

- 16 Johannes Helmraht, 'Poggio Bracciolini als päpstlicher Propagandist. Die *invectiva in Felicem antipapam* (1447)', in *Margarita amicorum. Studi di cultura europea per Agostino Sottili*, ed. by Fabio Forner (Milan, 2005), pp. 541–84 (pp. 569–74). *Poggio Bracciolini, Lettere*, ii, ed. by Helene Harth (Florence, 1984), no. 8, pp. 357–58: 'monstrum horrendum'.
- 17 Numbers 16.1–3 and 23–35.
- 18 C. 7 q. 1 c. 9, in: *Corpus iuris canonici*, i: *Decretum Gratiani*, ed. by Friedberg, cols 569–70. See also Christian Jaser, *Ecclesia maledicens. Rituelle und zeremonielle Exkommunikationsformen im Mittelalter* (Tübingen, 2013), pp. 206–08; for a better understanding of some metaphors see Michael E. Stoller, 'The Emergence of the Term *antipapa* in Medieval Usage', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 23 (1985), 43–61 (p. 44); *Licet de evitanda, Die Dekrete der ökumenischen Konzilien*, ii: *Konzilien des Mittelalters*, ed. by Hans Wohlmuth (Paderborn, 2000), p. 211.
- 19 D. 40 c. 6, in: *Corpus iuris canonici*, i: *Decretum Gratiani*, ed. by Friedberg, col. 146:
- Si papa [...] inutilis et remissus in operibus suis. [...] Huius culpas istic redarguere presumit mortalium nullus, quia cunctos ipse iudicaturus a nemine est iudicandus, nisi deprehendatur a fide deuius; pro cuius perpetuo statu universitas fidelium tanto instantius orat, quanto suam salutem post Deum ex illius incolunitate animaduertunt propensius pendere.
- 20 *De oratione, jejunio et elemosyna*, in *Patrologia latina*, ed. by J.-P. Migne, ccxii: cols 117–18:
- Restricta autem praefati nominis significatione, talis fieri potest divisio: Eorum qui post accepta fidei sacramenta a veritatis ratione prave vivendo degenerant et cadunt: alius in Ecclesia latet, et eam pravis moribus perturbat, ut falsus catholicus; alius omnino fidei Christianae renuntiat, cum tamen nequeat non esse Christianus, ut apostata vel apostaticus; alius servata fidei forma ab unitate Ecclesiae sese violenter abrumpit, ut antipapa sive schismaticus; alius sacrae Scripturae sensum scienter corrumpit, et dici potest erraticus; alius sacramenta Ecclesiae vel articulos fidei pervertit, et hic proprie vocatur haereticus. Dicitur autem haereticus ab haeresi Graeco, quod est electio, quod quisque pro suo arbitrio eligat quid sequatur. Omnium igitur infidelium, licet in sua impietate dissentiant una tamen est sors et aequa conditio: in eo scilicet quod omnes extra sunt, et ab his quae tantum in Ecclesia vel fieri vel prodesse possunt, infidelitatis suae merito segregati.
- 21 Ed. by Julius Dieterich and Heinrich Böhmer, MGH, *Libelli de lite*, vol. iii.3 (Hannover, 1897), pp. 109–30 (p. 119). Brian Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory: The Contribution of the Medieval Canonists from Gratian to the Great Schism* (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 56–67 remain essential. On the *tractatus* see also now Anna Eßer, 'Vom Zwang zu entscheiden. Neutralitas im Alexandrinischen Schisma (1159–1177)', *Römische Historische Mitteilungen*, 63 (2021), 233–61.
- 22 '[...] si constanter in unitate catholica conserimus permanere': *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. by Philippe Labbe, vol. xxi (Venice, 1776), col. 1172 C. The reproach for damaging the *unitas* of the Church was even formulated by Innocent II in his opening sermon of the Second Lateran Council in 1139. The event was reported by *La Chronique de Morigny*, ed. by Léon Mirot (Paris, 1912), p. 73. For Arnulf's speech at Tours, see Isabel Blumenroth, *Das Alexandrinische Schisma in Briefen und Ideenwelt des Arnulf von Lisieux und Johannes von Salisbury* (Cologne, 2021), pp. 100–23. Georg Strack deals with the sources and rhetoric of this sermon in his *Solo sermone. Überlieferung und Deutung politischer Ansprachen der Päpste im Mittelalter* (Wiesbaden, 2022), pp. 174–81, 189–91.



- 23 Guillaume H. M. Posthumus Meyjes, *Jean Gerson, Apostle of Unity: His Church Politics and Ecclesiology* (Leiden, 1999). See also some legal definitions from the beginning of the fifteenth century which tend to accept the schism while preserving the idea of unity, e.g., the Bolognese Antonio da Budrio, *Briefe zum Pisaner Konzil*, ed. by Johannes Vincke, *Beiträge zur Kirchen- und Rechtsgeschichte*, i (Bonn, 1940), no. 30, pp. 64–68 (p. 65):

nichil est aliud scisma quam ab unitate universalis ecclesie se dividere et in una Petri cathedra individua opinionibus singulorum duo vel plura presidentes velle defendere, quasi: “ego sum Apollo, ille Cephas”. Quos redarguit apostolus per hoc scisma exprimens esse inter eos.

For a precise view see Florian Eßer, ‘Aus zwei mach eins. Der Pisaner Lösungsversuch des Großen Abendländischen Schismas 1408/1409: Schismatologie und Konzilsform’, in *Verlust der Eindeutigkeit*, ed. by Harald Müller (Berlin, 2017), pp. 37–54 (pp. 42–43, 48–49). For Pisa, see Florian Eßer, *Schisma als Deutungskonflikt. Das Konzil von Pisa und die Lösung des Großen Abendländischen Schismas (1378–1409)* (Cologne, 2019).

- 24 Othmar Hageneder, ‘Die Häresie des Ungehorsams und das Entstehen des hierokratischen Papsttums’, *Römische Historische Mitteilungen*, 20 (1978), 29–47 (pp. 33–40, with further examples). The development of a legal concept is sketched by Othmar Hageneder, ‘Der Häresiebegriff bei den Juristen des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts’, in *The Concept of Heresy in the Middle Ages (11th–13th c.): Proceedings of the International Conference Louvain, May 13–16, 1973*, ed. by Willem Lourdaux and Daniel Verhelst (Leuven, 1976), pp. 42–103 (pp. 58–82). Pointing in the same direction: Hans-Werner Goetz, ‘Wandel des Häresiebegriffs im Zeitalter der Kirchenreform? Eine Betrachtung der Streitschriften Humberts von Silva Candida und Gottfrieds von Vendôme’, in *Von Sarazenen und Juden, Heiden und Häretikern. Die christlich-abendländischen Vorstellungen von Andersgläubigen im Früh- und Hochmittelalter in vergleichender Perspektive*, ed. by Norman Bade and Beate Freudenberg (Bochum, 2013), pp. 131–52 (pp. 151–52):

Ist die Ausweitung der Häresiezuweisung auf die Ziele der Kirchenreform einerseits zwar längst im Häresiekonzept angelegt, so erhält dieses andererseits dadurch gleichwohl eine neue Qualität, Intensität und Aktualität. Ein Verstoß gegen die Kirchenregeln wird zum Verstoß gegen den Glauben erklärt und somit als Häresie gewertet, und zwar kaum zufällig in einer Zeit bewusst werdender Gewaltentrennung und eines daraus resultierenden institutionelleren Kirchenbegriffs, ohne dass man das bemerkt oder jedenfalls zugeben hätte.

- 25 *Ex libro de edificio Dei*, ed. by Ernst Sackur, in *MGH Libelli de lite*, vol. iii (Hanover, 1897), pp. 136–202 (p. 174); witnessed even more clearly in the *Liber de simoniacis*, ed. *ibid.*, pp. 239–72 (p. 244). See also Peter Classen, ‘Der Häresiebegriff bei Gerhoch von Reichersberg und in seinem Umkreis’, in *Concept of Heresy*, ed. by Lourdaux and Verhelst, pp. 27–41 (pp. 31–32). Gerhoch’s concept of heresy, especially in regard of some new insights of some scholastic philosophers like Abelard or Gilbert of Poitiers is analysed by Constant J. Mews, ‘Accusations of Heresy and Error in the Twelfth Century Schools: The Witness of Gerhoch von Reichersberg and Otto of Freising’, in *Heresy in Transition: Transforming Ideas of Heresy in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Ian Hunter, John Christian Laursen and Cary J. Nederman (Aldershot, 2015), pp. 43–57 (pp. 45–51).
- 26 See above n. 3. Johannes (XVI) Philagatos, deposed by Otto III in 998, was treated in the same way. See above n. 2.

- 27 For a complete survey of popes' burial places see Michael Borgolte, *Petrusnachfolge und Kaiserimitation. Die Grablegen der Päpste, ihre Genese und Traditionsbildung* (Göttingen, 1989), pp. 343–57.
- 28 Whereas Alexander's III body had to be transferred to the Lateran in a great hurry, since the Romans showed themselves to be quite hostile by throwing stones at the corpse. See *Chronicon Sigeberti, Continuatio Aquicintina*, ed. by D. L. C. Bethmann, in MGH, SS, vi (Hannover, 1844), pp. 418–20.
- 29 Müller, 'Gegenpäpste', p. 45 (with references).
- 30 Müller, 'Gegenpäpste', pp. 45–46 (with references).
- 31 Pope Gregory XII was granted the office of cardinal-bishop of Porto in 1415 in a similar way.
- 32 See Reinhart Koselleck, 'Krise', in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, ed. by Otto Brunner, Werner Conze and Reinhart Koselleck, vol. iii (Stuttgart, 1982), pp. 617–50; for our purpose especially Müller, 'Autorität und Krise', pp. 5–7.
- 33 In this meaning and as a diagnose used in Carla Meyer, Katja Patzel-Mattern and Gerrit Jasper Schenk, 'Einführung', in *Krisengeschichte(n). Krise als Leitbegriff und Erzählmuster in kulturwissenschaftlicher Perspektive*, ed. by Carla Meyer, Katja Patzel-Mattern and Gerrit Jasper Schenk (Stuttgart, 2013), pp. 9–24 (p. 12).
- 34 See now Ansgar Nünning, 'Krise als Erzählung und Metapher: Literaturwissenschaftliche Bausteine für eine Metaphorologie und Narratologie von Krisen', in *Krisengeschichte(n)*, ed. by Meyer et al., pp. 117–44 (pp. 125, 133). Terminological aspects are addressed in Peter Schuster, 'Die Krise des Spätmittelalters. Zur Evidenz eines sozial- und wirtschaftsgeschichtlichen Paradigmas in der Geschichtsschreibung des 20. Jahrhunderts', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 269 (1999), 19–55 (pp. 36–41).
- 35 For example, at the synod of Pavia in 1160—*MGH, Constitutiones*, i, ed. by Ludwig Weiland (Hannover 1893), p. 264: 'conspiratores [...] se contulerunt et ydolum sibi Rolandum cancellarium erexerunt, dicentes hunc esse Symonem Petrum, qui apostolicae dignitatis apicem tam nefaria invasione attingere presumebat'. See also: Müller, 'Gegenpäpste', pp. 28–29; Andreas Matena, 'Der Papst als Idol. Skizzen zu einem Diskurs zwischen dem 11. und dem 15. Jahrhundert', in *Verlust der Eindeutigkeit*, ed. by Müller, pp. 127–45 (pp. 127–35); and Harald Müller, 'Des Kaisers Götzenbild. Friedrich I. Barbarossa und seine Päpste im Alexandrinischen Schisma (1159–1177)', in *Päpste in staufischer Zeit*, ed. by Gesellschaft für staufische Geschichte e.V. (Göppingen, 2020), pp. 79–94.

## 6 Papal Communication and the Fifth Crusade, 1217–21

*Thomas W. Smith*

In September 1220, towards the end of the Fifth Crusade (1217–21), the master of the Knights Templar in the Holy Land, Peter de Montague, composed a letter to the bishop of Elne in southern France to inform the prelate of the precarious state of the crusade host in Egypt:

[W]e have long expected the arrival of the emperor [Frederick II] and other nobles by whom we hope to be relieved, and on their arrival we hope to bring this business, which has commenced by the hands of many, to a happy termination; but if we are deceived in our hope of this assistance in the ensuing summer, which I hope will not happen, both countries, namely Syria and Egypt, and that which we have lately gained possession of as well as that which we have held for a long time, will be placed in a doubtful position.<sup>1</sup>

This letter is testament to the importance of, and the reliance of the crusaders upon, the flow of information between East and West during the course of the campaign. Letters such as Peter's, along with oral reports from eyewitnesses, were a lifeline for crusaders through which they could submit requests for support and acquire strategic information about coming reinforcements and subsidies. The papal curia represented the central hub through which oral and written messages were exchanged – as James Powell observed, the papal court was 'a clearinghouse for information'.<sup>2</sup> This role played by the papacy was a keystone in the organisation of the crusading movement, and, while a number of studies on the papacy and the crusades touch upon the topic, one that focuses exclusively on the mechanics of papal communication and how it affected the crusading movement remains a scholarly *desideratum*.<sup>3</sup> The Fifth Crusade represents a particularly good opportunity for such an investigation because it was an expedition whose character, strategy and course were determined to a great extent by the sharing of information between East and West.<sup>4</sup> After opening manoeuvres around Mount Tabor in the winter of 1217–18 under the contested leadership of King Andrew II of Hungary (after which he abandoned the expedition), the crusader host sailed south to besiege the

Egyptian port city of Damietta. With John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem, nominally in command, the army captured the city on 5 November 1219. Thereafter, however, the fortune of the pilgrims turned. Concerned to await the promised arrival of Emperor Frederick II (1220–50) and crippled by the carousel of crusader departures and arrivals throughout the campaign – most of whom only served for about a year – a long period of inaction ensued, and the final march on Cairo in summer 1221 met with disaster and marked the end of the crusade.<sup>5</sup>

While other crusades were generally more cohesive in the makeup of their contingents (which often departed *en masse* and remained together on crusade until the conclusion of the expedition), ‘the effect of staggered contributions to the [Fifth] crusade’, Andrew Jotischky writes, ‘was to stretch resources during crucial moments’.<sup>6</sup> As Peter de Montague’s letter reveals, this made the crusader host dependent upon the arrival of new warriors to replenish losses sustained through death and departure, yet even more problematic was the uncertainty surrounding the participation of Frederick II, who had taken a crusade vow at his coronation as king of the Romans in 1215 and whose arrival in the East the crusaders had been awaiting since at least the turn of 1218/19.<sup>7</sup> Attempting to organise any kind of strategy therefore hinged upon knowing the preparedness of Frederick and others signed with the Cross in the West and meant that communication with Pope Honorius III (1216–27), who not only could be relied upon to relay such information dutifully but also to recruit and hurry along reinforcements and to procure funds to finance the war, was crucial to the crusade. The aim of this essay is to explore how such communication was conducted and to ascertain what its effect on the crusading movement was.

## **Letters and Reports from the Crusaders**

The most significant form in which crusaders transmitted messages to the papal curia was written reports. While crusaders and Frankish settlers despatched many such letters to correspondents in the West throughout the period 1095–1291, their texts do not usually survive in holograph (that is, the autograph manuscripts composed by the authors). Instead, if these texts survive at all, it is normally in the form of copies. Some despatches from the army of the Fifth Crusade are preserved within papal letters used to relay their contents throughout Christendom, and, given the high attrition rate of original papal letters, usually then only in the registers.<sup>8</sup> The act of registration, that is, the copying of the texts into papal registers, was a selective practice – only those that the curia deemed important enough, or those that petitioners were willing to pay for, were preserved.<sup>9</sup> Yet, paradoxically, not all important documents are found in the registers, and the simple fact of registration does not signify in of itself that curialists deemed a particular letter to be significant.<sup>10</sup> As such, while the overwhelming majority of thirteenth-century papal letters survive only

in the registers – thus representing the single most important source of papal correspondence for the period – we must bear in mind that they are incomplete records of papal political correspondence.<sup>11</sup>

One crusader report preserved in the registers is the despatch from Peter de Montague's predecessor as master of the Knights Templar in the Holy Land, William of Chartres, composed in late October 1217, which regaled Honorius with news of the crusaders' early armed forays, the state of their provisions and their strategic aim to invade Egypt.<sup>12</sup> The only form in which this report survives is as an interpolation in a letter of Honorius dated 24 November, which the pope addressed to the archbishops of Oristano and Reims so as to organise liturgical processions in support of the pilgrims and to recruit reinforcements.<sup>13</sup> It is peculiar that such an important letter was apparently only transmitted to the archbishops of Oristano and Reims. It is clear, however, that this document was sent as an encyclical throughout the West, that we have lost evidence of all but one of the original papal documents (the copy sent to Reims), and that the list of *in eundem modum* recipients under the copy of the letter to Oristano in the papal register is deficient.<sup>14</sup> On 15 June 1218, the crusader host sent another letter to the curia, relating that they had begun the investment of the city of Damietta (which they saw as a necessary step on the path towards the conquest of all of Egypt) and requesting reinforcement.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, this report is not preserved in the original but as a copy that Honorius embedded in a papal letter to the French crusaders preparing to sail to North Africa from Genoa in mid-August.<sup>16</sup> Besides his exhortation to leave as soon as possible, Honorius' missive contains very few of his own words, and was instead intended as a 'vehicle' to carry the crusaders' message.

In addition to letters from the crusader leadership, Honorius received reports from contacts among the host such as the bishop of Acre, Jacques de Vitry.<sup>17</sup> Jacques composed five letters addressed to Honorius (along with other important figures in the West) from Egypt during the course of the campaign.<sup>18</sup> These despatches recorded events on the crusade, emphasised Egypt's biblical heritage and related accounts of the land's flora and fauna. Apparently, these reports were not intended to establish a correspondence with the pope, but merely supplied the curia with information on which to make decisions from a trusted papal informant. Unlike the letters from the crusade leadership, no papal replies are preserved in the registers, and, while this makes it challenging to detect Jacques' influence on Honorius' decision-making in the same way as the other reports, it is inconceivable that these reports did not affect the papal administration of the Fifth Crusade.

The number of copies in which Jacques' letters survive is higher than that of those from the crusader host. There are two explanations for this. The first is that, because of their information on Egypt and Jacques' polished written style and biblical exegesis, his letters had a broader appeal than requests for reinforcements from the crusade leadership. The second is that he also addressed some of his missives to figures such as *magister*

Jean de Nivelles, the community at Oignies, Duke Leopold of Austria, the scholars of Paris and others, ensuring a larger reception for the manuscripts of his reports.<sup>19</sup> In combination, these factors led to a wider transmission of his despatches, which survive in manuscript traditions independent of the papal chancery.<sup>20</sup>

Similarly, the Arabic prophecy of the 'son of Agap' that the crusade leaders encountered in Egypt, had translated into Latin, and sent back to the curia not only influenced the political decisions of Honorius but also began to circulate in independent manuscript traditions.<sup>21</sup> Soon after the capture of Damietta in November 1219, as Bernard Hamilton wrote, the crusaders came across 'an Arabic book of prophecy attributed to Hannan son of Agap, or, in some manuscripts, Hannan son of Ishak'.<sup>22</sup> This text prophesied that Christians would conquer the city in 1219, followed thereafter by the rest of Egypt. A king from beyond the mountains would take the city of Damascus and the king of Albexi or Abismi would attack Mecca. This series of events would signal the arrival of the Antichrist and the end of the world.<sup>23</sup> The Eastern Christian authors of the prophecy clearly intended the 'king from beyond the mountains' to signify the king of Georgia, but the translators of the book, who rendered it into Latin thought that this king was, in fact, Frederick II, and the papal legate on the crusade, Pelagius, cardinal-bishop of Albano, eagerly sent the translation of the prophecy to Honorius.<sup>24</sup>

The crusaders came into contact with more prophecies in 1221: the so-called 'Book of Clement' and the 'History of the Deeds of David, king of the Indies, who is commonly called Prester John', which stated that a Western king (Frederick II) and an Eastern king (Prester John) would meet in a recovered, Christian Jerusalem.<sup>25</sup> Belief in this prophecy was apparently strong in the crusader camp and it contributed to the decision not to accept Sultan al-Kāmil's second peace offer in spring 1221.<sup>26</sup> But what is important for our purposes here is to note that such beliefs were not limited to the crusaders in the Near East; once the texts arrived in the West, one can trace their impact in Honorius' diplomacy and ecclesiastical administration. A letter that Honorius wrote to the archbishop of Cologne and his suffragans, recently discovered by Josef Riedmann, demonstrates that in explaining the military situation in Egypt, the pope concentrated on the advances of Prester John against the Muslims.<sup>27</sup> This is evidence then of a cross-fertilisation of ecclesiastical and political ideas and information from the Near East that can be traced in the actions taken by Honorius in his administration of the crusade and also in the Western sources.

Such texts regarding the crusading movement were of intense interest to medieval monastic scribes and their audiences. As I have argued elsewhere, the copying and consumption of such texts allowed cloistered monks to contribute to the crusading movement as a form of 'scribal crusading'.<sup>28</sup> The papal legate on the Fifth Crusade, Pelagius, originally sent the prophecy of the son of Agap to Honorius in a Latin translation, and there are now two known Latin versions of the text, which date to the thirteenth century.<sup>29</sup>

The prophecy was also rendered into an Old French translation and began to circulate in this form, of which six manuscripts are known.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, Roger of Wendover copied three letters concerning the Fifth Crusade into his chronicle, including Peter de Montague's letter, with which this chapter opened. Although this latter letter is best known from Roger's work, it is not the only manuscript context in which it survives.<sup>31</sup> I have recently noted a new copy of the text (along with an unknown version of Oliver of Cologne's *Historia Damiatina* and a fuller, older Latin version of prophecy of the son of Agap, all dating to the thirteenth century) in Dublin, Trinity College Library MS 496.<sup>32</sup> Therefore, it was not only the pope who was concerned to spread news from the crusades throughout the religious and secular communities of Europe to whip up liturgical and material support for the endeavours; it clearly had a much broader appeal, as Mordechai Lewy has demonstrated.<sup>33</sup> Although many of the texts may have come through the papal 'clearinghouse' first, some – seemingly those of the most interest to monastic audiences – then began to circulate on their own, transmitting information from the Near East beyond the confines of the curia.

Information was not merely relayed through written texts, however. Although there is far less evidence of oral messages being delivered, traces can sometimes be identified in the papal documents. Secular rulers signed with the Cross employed representatives to submit their petitions and conduct diplomacy with the pope, such as the archdeacon with the initial D. whom King Andrew II of Hungary entrusted with his crusade business at the curia in January and February 1217. It is probable that this archdeacon was involved in the impetration of all the letters regarding Andrew's crusade issued during this period, having been sent from Hungary bearing a number of written letters and petitions, which the representative could supplement orally with information supplied by Andrew.<sup>34</sup> D. could then carry back (or send through a third party) any papal documents that might be issued to the Hungarian royal court. The first letter in the batch of four relating to Andrew was that sent to Cologne dated 27 January, and the last was the letter of 25 February, although it is of course possible that more were issued without being entered into the papal registers. Archdeacon D. could, therefore, have arrived at the curia sometime in January and left with documents in hand perhaps by the end of February.

Frederick II also made use of representatives at the curia, such as an embassy he sent in early 1217 to discuss his imperial coronation and the crusade, composed of a mixture of high-ranking secular and ecclesiastical figures: the abbot of St Gallen, William, marquis of Montferrat, the dean of Speyer and the *castellanus* of S. Miniato.<sup>35</sup> It is probable that such representatives were able to deliver oral communications to the pope regarding crusaders from their home regions, and it is likely that they would carry back reports and information gleaned during their time at the curia. One delegate used by Frederick during the negotiations with the pope regarding his imperial coronation in October and November 1220 was in

a prime position to relay such information. The master of the Teutonic Knights, Hermann von Salza, was a veteran of the Fifth Crusade who had personally fought at Damietta; the pope and Frederick must surely have interviewed him for further eyewitness information regarding the campaign.<sup>36</sup> The fact that the Teutonic Order already maintained a proctor at Honorius' court from at least July 1220 demonstrates just how interconnected these information networks were.<sup>37</sup> It is plausible to suggest that the papacy and the Order utilised such connections to acquire and pass on crusade information. Although the information about the representatives in these examples is limited, their illustrative value lies in the reconstruction of the curia as a connecting hub, where crusade information, received both in oral and written form, might be exchanged and then propagated far away from Rome 'along the interlaced networks of the lay and ecclesiastical elites'.<sup>38</sup> Although the vast majority of written correspondence regarding the Fifth Crusade does not proffer information on such oral communication, we must be alive to the fact that it was being conducted without leaving traces in the documentary record. The carriers of the letters that we do possess probably often transmitted oral messages in addition to their parchment counterparts, as was the norm in medieval diplomacy.<sup>39</sup> The foregoing discussion underlines just how lively a hub for communication concerning the crusade the papal curia was, but despite the strong links connecting these transnational networks, the speed at which information could be exchanged between the crusaders and the papacy was partially outside of human control.

Regardless of whether messages were delivered in person or on parchment, all communication between the Near East and the West was dictated by the seasonal passages across the Mediterranean Sea. While it was possible to sail in winter, the weather conditions were decidedly more dangerous and most chose to travel in the two seasonal *passagia*, the first of which departed from Western ports between the end of March and the beginning of April, and the second between the end of July and the beginning of August.<sup>40</sup> The journey took around four to six weeks travelling from the West to the Holy Land, and roughly twice that for the return journey against the prevailing winds.<sup>41</sup> Nevertheless, the pilgrims managed to get a number of letters back to the West in the same time that it took to sail from West to East, as evidenced by the issue dates of crusader despatches and papal responses. William of Chartres' report, given in late October 1217, was embedded in a papal letter of 24 November – a very fast turnaround time of one month.<sup>42</sup> The crusader report of 15 June 1218 was also received rapidly at the curia, since it was copied in a papal document of mid-August.<sup>43</sup> News of the capture of Damietta, on the other hand, committed to parchment in Egypt on 11 November 1219, does not appear to have reached the curia for some ten weeks.<sup>44</sup> Honorius, who one can assume would have replied as quickly as possible to such important and long-awaited news, did not issue a response until 24 February 1220.<sup>45</sup>



## The Papal Response

While the speed of communication between Near East and West could be hampered by the conditions of Mediterranean crossings, once crusader reports arrived at the curia, Honorius' response appears to have been swift. The crusaders obviously chose to compose most of their despatches when there was a ship preparing to leave Egypt and return to Italy. They could, therefore, send the most up-to-date news of the situation within the shortest possible delivery window.<sup>46</sup> Given the average length of time required to make the Mediterranean crossing and the dates of Honorius' papal letters, this must mean that the pope made such crusade business a high priority and that he took immediate action.

As I have argued elsewhere, Honorius did not seek to direct the course of the Fifth Crusade from the curia in Italy.<sup>47</sup> Although the pope carried on a correspondence with his legate, Pelagius, throughout the campaign, the old argument that he used this as a means to control the expedition, recently revived by Christian Grasso, does not stand up to scrutiny.<sup>48</sup> Rather, the pope used this correspondence primarily as a means to exchange information. During Honorius' negotiations with Frederick regarding his imperial coronation and crusade vow, the pope wrote to Pelagius to update him on each new development, which impinged on the ability of the crusade leadership to develop military strategy. By early September 1219, Honorius realised that the emperor-elect sought to secure the imperial crown before crusading and he sent this information on to Pelagius.<sup>49</sup> The only papal orders that this letter carried were to remain united in the face of the enemy and to continue the campaign: the pope left command of the crusade firmly in the hands of the secular leaders. By the summer of 1220, the emperor-elect brought his ambitions to the fore more bluntly. He informed the pope in that he would not embark on his crusade until he had been crowned emperor and that he would not be able to travel to Rome before the Feast of St Michael (29 September). This information was of vital importance to the crusaders in Egypt awaiting Frederick's arrival. Honorius therefore relayed these developments to his legate as quickly as he could in a letter of 24 July which also related that funds from the crusade tax were being sent to the Near East.<sup>50</sup>

The pope's correspondence with Pelagius continued along these lines, with Honorius writing to the legate soon after the imperial coronation, on 30 November 1220, to update him regarding the emperor's planned departure in August 1221 and also to notify Pelagius that he had promised Duke Ludwig of Bavaria 2,000 marks from the legate's war chest if the duke would arrive in March.<sup>51</sup> On 15 December, the pope wrote again to Pelagius, confirming Frederick's expected departure date and urging the legate to rally the pilgrims to remain focussed until his arrival.<sup>52</sup> Yet very soon thereafter, on 2 January 1221, the pope wrote again to Pelagius, expressing doubts about

the emperor's preparedness and his repeated delays.<sup>53</sup> Honorius authorised his legate to probe the matter of a temporary truce with the Muslims (rather than a lasting peace deal such as Sultan al-Kāmil had already offered) in order to buy time for the emperor.<sup>54</sup> The pope did not command Pelagius to seek a truce, but merely instructed him in the subjunctive that he might provide for one (*provideat*). When Pelagius relayed terms to Honorius, the pope replied on 20 June 1221 that they were in agreement that such provisions were unacceptable and that the army should instead stand firm until the arrival of the emperor.<sup>55</sup> Aside from this single example, in his communication with the legate, the pope never attempted to meddle in the strategic direction of the crusade from Italy. In any case, the relatively slow nature of medieval international correspondence was such that it would have rendered any attempts to control a distant, ever-changing military campaign pointless.

An appreciation of the importance of the speed of international communication offers an explanation for an important episode of the Fifth Crusade. At Easter 1220, the leader of the Fifth Crusade, John of Brienne, left the crusader host in Egypt and travelled back to the kingdom of Jerusalem. Apparently his departure was motivated by the need to defend his kingdom against Sultan al-Kāmil's brother, al-Mu'azzam.<sup>56</sup> But he also had a claim to the throne of Armenia through his wife, Stephanie, and the king petitioned Honorius for papal confirmation of this claim, which the pope granted in a document of 2 February 1220.<sup>57</sup> It has been suggested that if John had been truly serious about his Armenian ambitions he would have left Egypt sooner.<sup>58</sup> The king of Armenia, Leo II, had, after all, died in May 1219.<sup>59</sup> A substantial amount of time had therefore passed before Honorius confirmed John's claim. But this does not necessarily signify a lack of interest on John's behalf. As discussed above, it took a matter of months, depending on the season, for despatches from Egypt to reach the curia, not to mention the original delay involved in transmitting the news of Leo's death from Armenia to Egypt. Indeed, there is a neat correlation between the issue date of the papal confirmation, 2 February 1220, the first seasonal passage, and John's departure at Easter – a window which tallies well with the timeframe for the exchange of letters between the curia and Egypt. It therefore seems likely that John's motivations might be explained by the delay in communication.

Whether John's intention to leave the crusade was known at the curia, however, is another matter. Honorius does not appear to have received word of the king's departure from the crusade host until August 1220. In response, the pope wrote to John on 11 August.<sup>60</sup> Honorius did not wish to believe the rumour that John had abandoned the crusade to go to Armenia, which, he wrote, jeopardised the campaign and was an affront to those who had travelled across the sea to come to the aid of John and his kingdom.

The pope urged the king to return to the expedition and warned against attacking Christian Armenia in the strongest terms, threatening the king with anathematisation. When John re-joined the crusade army on 7 July 1221, just in time for its march on Cairo, 11 months had passed since the issue of the papal letter which ordered John to return to Egypt. One must allow for the time delay inherent in medieval correspondence, but this implies that the return of the king was not simply a result of the papacy's strictest orders as some scholars have propounded.<sup>61</sup> This allows one to question the extent of papal authority at such a distance, especially in cases where the lay rulers did not stand to gain papal favours in return for obedience.

Rather than struggling to act as a director of the crusade from the curia, the pope's chief roles were those of supporter, champion and recruiter – something that emerges clearly from the papal documents. When the crusader host sent another report back to the curia in autumn 1218, it prompted a chain reaction in the West where Honorius moved quickly to fulfil the needs of the pilgrims. The crusader letter is now lost, but we know that one was sent and that it was distinct from that dated 15 June (above) because a reference to the lost document in a papal letter of 27 November acknowledges the receipt of such a despatch and names Pelagius as one its authors, thus marking it out as distinct from the June despatch, which was composed before his arrival in Egypt.<sup>62</sup> Honorius is recorded to have sent his letter of 27 November to the archbishops of England and France (it is possible that there were more recipients who went unmentioned in the papal register).<sup>63</sup> The pope's letter announced that the crusaders had exhausted their funds and had petitioned urgently (*instantissime supplicarunt*) for reinforcements and financial support. In response to this plea, the pope instructed the prelates to urge crusaders in their dioceses to depart for Egypt in the March or May passages.<sup>64</sup>

In addition to relaying the plea for help to the prelates and crusaders of Europe, Honorius also moved to secure more funding. In January 1219, the pope assigned papal agents to collect the twentieth tax throughout the West and coordinated the transfer of the tax through the Paris Temple. On 2 January, he wrote to the archbishop of Bremen and the bishop of Riga, ordering that the twentieth be assigned to the Templar *cubicularius*, Martin, and the Hospitaller marshal, John.<sup>65</sup> Two days later, on 4 January, Honorius addressed another letter to all the clergy of Germany ordering the same.<sup>66</sup> On 17 January, the pope sent a similar letter throughout Hungary, making it explicit that his orders were in direct response to the crusaders' supplications ('clamant ad nos preces supplices') and assigning the papal chaplain Accountius to collect the kingdom's twentieth.<sup>67</sup> A papal official named Stephen and an assistant also appear to have been appointed for France, because, on 19 January, Honorius sent orders to the collectors noted above for Spain, Germany and Hungary, and it was also recorded in the register that a copy was despatched to Stephen and his associate.<sup>68</sup>

The crusaders' plight also seems to have spurred the pope on to approach Frederick and begin serious negotiations regarding the fulfilment of his crusade vow. Although there is no surviving papal document, we can be certain that Honorius sent one. The evidence for this lost missive is supplied in a letter that Frederick wrote to Honorius on 12 January 1219. In this document, the emperor-elect stated that he was replying to a recent papal letter on the state of the Holy Land.<sup>69</sup> Given the time required to exchange messages between the papal and imperial courts, it is plausible that this lost papal letter was sent at around the same time as that of 27 November 1218 to the archbishops of England and France on the same theme.<sup>70</sup> Judging from Frederick's reply, the content was certainly similar. Honorius must have exhorted the emperor-elect to fulfil his vow and to reinforce the crusaders. Frederick wrote to the pope that the crusade held a special place in his heart and he understood that, without support, it might soon founder. Frederick's pledge in this letter to leave by the Feast of John the Baptist (24 June) correlates with the deadline Honorius set in his letter of 27 November to the archbishops of England and France: Honorius must have made the same request to the emperor-elect. This diplomatic exchange marked the beginning of serious negotiations regarding Frederick's crusade – a long, and sometimes difficult, correspondence that continued until the death of Honorius in 1227.

## **Conclusion**

The fate of the Fifth Crusade, perhaps more than any other, hung on contact and communication with the West. Paradoxically, though, in the end, the reliance of the Fifth Crusade on this regular stream of information on the preparedness of Frederick II contributed to its undoing. The regular updates that the crusaders received informing them Frederick was about to depart contributed directly to the inaction of the army after the capture of Damietta in November 1219, and they hamstrung the ability of the crusade leadership to plan strategically in the long term. Building on the observation of Powell that the papal curia represented a 'clearinghouse for information', the papal curia was clearly the main Western hub for the exchange of crusade information, both in written and oral form.<sup>71</sup> Honorius played the keystone role in the West as the coordinator of the crusade, and the exploration of this role above paints a more nuanced picture of the nature of papal involvement in the crusading movement more broadly. As we have seen, rather than seeking unfettered control of the crusade, Honorius worked tirelessly to relay information to supporters and those signed with the Cross in the West, securing funds and reinforcements. Given the fast turnaround time between the receipt of reports from the Near East and papal actions in response, it is clear that the crusade took priority over routine affairs. Sadly for Honorius, his efforts to

support the Fifth Crusade came to nil, but he furnished us with a useful example of how papal communication functioned in support of the crusading movement.

## Notes

- 1 Translated in *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291*, ed. by Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters and James M. Powell (Philadelphia, PA, 2013), pp. 227–28 (here p. 228). The letter is edited as part of the chronicle of Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris – Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. by Henry Richards Luard, Rolls Series 57, 7 vols (London, 1872–84), iii: 64–66. Following previous editors and translators of Roger of Wendover and Matthew, the letter of Peter de Montague is misdated to 1221 in *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. by Bird, Peter and Powell. It cannot have been written in September 1221 because its content was clearly committed to parchment before the defeat of the crusade in August 1221, of which it makes no mention. Thus, it must have been composed in the previous September, after the Templars had withdrawn to Acre. It is also dated to 1220 in Pierre-Vincent Claverie, *L'ordre du Temple en Terre Sainte et à Chypre au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 3 vols (Nicosia, 2005), iii, no. 517, pp. 457–58.
- 2 James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221* (Philadelphia, PA, 1986), p. 111.
- 3 For example: Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*; Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades, 1147–1254* (Leiden, 2007); Rebecca Rist, *The Papacy and Crusading in Europe, 1198–1245* (London, 2009); Pierre-Vincent Claverie, *Honorius III et l'Orient (1216–1227): Étude et publication de sources inédites des Archives vaticanes (ASV)* (Leiden, 2013); Thomas W. Smith, *Curia and Crusade: Pope Honorius III and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1216–1227* (Turnhout, 2017).
- 4 On the Fifth Crusade, in addition to Powell, Claverie and Smith in n. 3 directly above, see, for example, Guy Perry, *John of Brienne: King of Jerusalem, Emperor of Constantinople, c. 1175–1237* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 89–121; *The Fifth Crusade in Context: The Crusading Movement in the Early Thirteenth Century*, ed. by E. J. Mylod, Guy Perry, Thomas W. Smith and Jan Vandeburie (Abingdon, 2017) and Megan Cassidy-Welch, *War and Memory at the Time of the Fifth Crusade* (University Park, PA, 2019).
- 5 Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, pp. 116–18. A parallel can be found with the very short term of service (40 days) required to fulfil one's vow while fighting on the Albigensian Crusade in the south of France. See Rebecca Rist, 'Salvation and the Albigensian Crusade: Pope Innocent III and the Plenary Indulgence', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 36 (2010), 95–112. For a full account of the course of the Fifth Crusade, see the classic account in Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*.
- 6 Andrew Jotischky, *Crusading and the Crusader States*, 2nd edn (Abingdon, 2017), p. 238.
- 7 Smith, *Curia and Crusade*, pp. 136–40.
- 8 Scholars estimate that 10–25% of papal letters were entered into the registers for safekeeping: C. R. Cheney, 'England and the Roman Curia under Innocent III', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 18 (1967), 173–86 (here p. 176); Thomas Frenz, *Papsturkunden des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, 2nd edn (Stuttgart, 2000), p. 59; Jane E. Sayers, *Papal Government and England during the Pontificate of Honorius III (1216–1227)* (Cambridge, 1984), p. 51.
- 9 Sayers, *Papal Government and England*, p. 71.

- 10 *The Letters of Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) Concerning England and Wales: A Calendar with an Appendix of Texts*, ed. by C. R. Cheney and Mary G. Cheney (Oxford, 1967), p. xxi; C. R. Cheney, 'The Letters of Pope Innocent III', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, 35 (1952/3), 23–43 (here p. 29).
- 11 Harry Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien*, 2 vols, 2nd edn (Leipzig, 1912–31), i: 121; Paulus Rabikauskas, *Diplomatica pontificia*, 6th edn (Rome, 1998), p. 82. There are also a number of other threats to the accuracy of the letter texts, such as scribal error or the register copy being made from a defective document or one that never left the papal chancery: Friedrich Bock, 'Originale und Registerinträge zur Zeit Honorius III.', *Bullettino dell' "Archivio Paleografico Italiano"* n.s., 2/3 (1956/7), 101–16 (here pp. 102–03); Hermann Krabbo, 'Eine nicht ausgegebene Urkunde im Register Honorius III.', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 6 (1904), 368–73 (here p. 372).
- 12 Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Registra Vaticana [henceforth Reg. Vat.] 9, fol. 178<sup>r</sup>:

Quatinus in manu forti per mare et terram in Babiloniam proficisceremur ad obsidendum Damiatam, ut sic cautius et provisius versus sanctam terram Ierusalimitanam iter prepararemus. Omnes igitur crucesignati seu crucesignandi sollicito moneantur, ut quam maiorem poterunt secum ducant copiam victualium et equorum.

*Regesta Honorii Papae III*, ed. by Petrus Pressutti, 2 vols (Rome, 1888–95), i, no. 885; *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. by Léopold Delisle, 24 vols, new edn (Paris, 1869–1904), xix: 639–40. Dated to the end of October 1217 in Claverie, *L'ordre du Temple*, iii, no. 499, pp. 432–33 and idem, *Honorius III et l'Orient*, p. 49.

- 13 See: Christoph T. Maier, 'Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 48 (1997), 628–57 (here p. 634); Claverie, *Honorius III et l'Orient*, p. 49.
- 14 See Smith, *Curia and Crusade*, pp. 121–22.
- 15 Reg. Vat. 10, fols 9<sup>v</sup>–10<sup>r</sup>:

Hiis igitur vobis nuntiatis supplicamus sanctitati vestre in Domino et pro Domino flexis genibus exorantes, quatinus Christiano exercitui magnis periculis exposito curetis misericorditer et celeriter subvenire [...] Qua obtenta firmiter speramus, ut totam Egyptum possemus obtinere, et Terram Sanctam pro qua laboramus finaliter liberare.

*Regesta*, ed. by Pressutti, i, no. 1581; *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani (MXCVII–MCCXCI)*, ed. by Reinhold Röhrich (Innsbruck, 1893), no. 911, pp. 243–44; *Studien zur Geschichte des fünften Kreuzzuges*, ed. by Reinhold Röhrich (Innsbruck, 1891), pp. 39–40. Claverie states that this letter from the crusaders was written in early July: Claverie, *Honorius III et l'Orient*, p. 51.

- 16 Reg. Vat. 10, fol. 10<sup>r</sup>:

Monemus igitur universitatem vestram, rogamus et exhortamur in Domino, per apostolica vobis scripta precipiendo mandantes, quatinus, attendentes discrimen in quo positus est exercitus Christianus nisi succursum habuerit festinatum, provideatis et disponatis ac irrefragabiliter ordinatis quod tam vos quam alii crucesignati qui ad portum Ianuensem conveniunt versus Damiatam in nomine Domini sabaoth dirigatis celeriter iter vestrum, quia sicut et littere ipse innuunt et nuntii qui attulerunt eas expressissime dicunt, certa spes est quod si vos et alii crucesignati applicueritis ad civitatem iamdictam, et illa et tota Egyptus ab eo cuius est terra et plenitudo eius dabitur in manus populi Christiani.

*Regesta*, ed. by Pressutti, i, no. 1581; Claverie, *Honorius III et l'Orient*, p. 52.

- 17 Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres de la Cinquième Croisade*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens, trans. by G. Duchet-Suchaux (Turnhout, 1998). On Jacques, see: Jan Vandeburrie, 'Jacques de Vitry's *Historia Orientalis*: Reform, Crusading, and the Holy Land after the Fourth Lateran Council' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Kent, 2015); Jean Donnadieu, *Jacques de Vitry (1175/1180–1240) – Entre l'Orient et l'Occident: l'évêque aux trois visages* (Turnhout, 2014).
- 18 Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres de la Cinquième Croisade*, nos 3–7, pp. 79–206. See p. 12.
- 19 Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres de la Cinquième Croisade*, nos 6–7, pp. 135–206 are addressed to multiple recipients.
- 20 See Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres de la Cinquième Croisade*, pp. 13–14.
- 21 On prophecy during and after the Fifth Crusade, see Mordechay Lewy, *Der apokalyptische Abessinier und die Kreuzzüge: Wandel eines frühislamischen Motivs in der Literatur und Kartografie des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 2017), pp. 117–96.
- 22 Bernard Hamilton, 'The Impact of Prester John on the Fifth Crusade', in *The Fifth Crusade in Context*, ed. by Mylod et al., pp. 53–67 (here p. 59).
- 23 Hamilton, 'The Impact of Prester John on the Fifth Crusade', p. 59.
- 24 Hamilton, 'The Impact of Prester John on the Fifth Crusade', p. 59.
- 25 Hamilton, 'The Impact of Prester John on the Fifth Crusade', pp. 60–63. On Prester John, see: *Prester John: The Legend and Its Sources*, ed. and trans. by Keagan Brewer (Farnham, 2015); *Prester John, the Mongols and the Ten Lost Tribes*, ed. by Charles F. Beckingham and Bernard Hamilton (Aldershot, 1996).
- 26 Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, pp. 178–79.
- 27 Josef Riedmann, 'Unbekannte Schreiben Kaiser Friedrichs II. und Konrads IV. in einer Handschrift der Universitätsbibliothek Innsbruck: Forschungsbericht und vorläufige Analyse', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 62 (2006), 135–200, (here no. 4, p. 154).
- 28 Thomas W. Smith, 'Scribal Crusading: Three New Manuscript Witnesses to the Regional Reception and Transmission of First Crusade Letters', *Traditio*, 72 (2017), 133–69.
- 29 London, Gray's Inn Library, MS 14 (see *A Catalogue of the Ancient Manuscripts Belonging to the Honourable Society of Gray's Inn*, ed. by Alfred J. Horwood (London, 1869), p. 14; the text from this manuscript is printed in *Quinti belli sacri scriptores minores*, ed. by Reinhold Röhrich (Geneva, 1879), pp. 214–22) and Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 496, fols 213<sup>v</sup>–215<sup>r</sup> (see Thomas W. Smith, 'Oliver of Cologne's *Historia Damiatina*: A New Manuscript Witness in Dublin, Trinity College Library MS 496', *Hermathena*, 194 (2013), 37–68).
- 30 All held in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France – see *Quinti belli sacri scriptores minores*, ed. by Röhrich, pp. 214, 223.
- 31 Roger of Wendover copied two letters of Peter de Montague and one of Philip of Albi concerning the later stages of the Fifth Crusade: Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, iii: 64–66, 67–70.
- 32 Trinity College MS 496, fols 212<sup>v</sup>–13<sup>v</sup>. See Smith, 'Oliver of Cologne's *Historia Damiatina*'.
- 33 Lewy, *Der apokalyptische Abessinier und die Kreuzzüge*, pp. 161–96.
- 34 *Regesta*, ed. by Pressutti, i, nos 284, 291, 330, 371. The reference to D. is preserved in Reg. Vat. 9, fol. 73<sup>v</sup>: 'Carissimus in Christo filius noster Andreas Ungarie rex illustris, tam per litteras suas, quam per dilectum filium D. archidiaconum nuntium suum, nobis instantissime supplicavit [...]'. *Regesta*, ed. by Pressutti, i, no. 371. See also: Claverie, *Honorius III et l'Orient*, p. 41; Gábor Barabás, *Das Papsttum und Ungarn in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts (ca.1198–ca.1241): Päpstliche Einflussnahme – Zusammenwirken – Interessengegensätze* (Vienna, 2014), p. 191.
- 35 Reg. Vat. 9, fol. 93<sup>r</sup>; *Regesta*, ed. by Pressutti, i, no. 482; Wolfgang Stürner, *Friedrich II., 1194–1250*, 2 vols (Darmstadt, 1992–2000), i: p. 231.

- 36 Stürner, *Friedrich II.*, i: 248; William Urban, *The Teutonic Knights: A Military History* (London, 2003), p. 25.
- 37 Barbara Bombi, 'L'Ordine Teutonico nell'Italia centrale: la casa romana dell'Ordine e l'ufficio del procuratore generale', in *L'Ordine Teutonico nel Mediterraneo: Atti de Convegno internazionale di studio Torre Alemanna (Cerignola) – Mesagne–Lecce, 16–18 ottobre 2003*, ed. by Hubert Houben (Galatina, 2004), pp. 197–215 (p. 206).
- 38 Christopher Tyerman, *How to Plan a Crusade: Reason and Religious War in the High Middle Ages* (London, 2015), p. 115.
- 39 Barbara Bombi, 'Petitioning between England and Avignon in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century', in *Medieval Petitions: Grace and Grievance*, ed. by W. Mark Ormrod, Gwilym Dodd and Anthony Musson (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 64–81 (p. 67); Pierre Chaplais, *English Diplomatic Practice in the Middle Ages* (London, 2003), p. 78.
- 40 John H. Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649–1571* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 117.
- 41 Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War*, pp. 3, 36, 87.
- 42 *Regesta*, ed. by Pressutti, i, no. 885.
- 43 *Regesta*, ed. by Pressutti, i, no. 1581.
- 44 Printed in *Studien zur Geschichte des fünften Kreuzzuges*, ed. by Röhrich, pp. 46–48. See also Claverie, *Honorius III et l'Orient*, p. 58.
- 45 Reg. Vat. 10, fol. 162<sup>v</sup>: 'Ideoque universitatem vestram rogamus attentius et hortamur, per apostolica vobis scripta precipiendo mandantes quatinus eidem in predictis omnibus devote ac humiliter more solito intendatis.' *Regesta*, ed. by Pressutti, i, no. 2338.
- 46 On medieval crusade news, see Helen Birkett, 'News in the Middle Ages: News, Communications, and the Launch of the Third Crusade in 1187–1188', *Viator*, 49.3 (2018), 23–61.
- 47 Thomas W. Smith, 'The Role of Pope Honorius III in the Fifth Crusade', in *The Fifth Crusade in Context*, ed. by Mylod et al., pp. 15–26.
- 48 Christian Grasso, 'Il cardinale Pelagio d'Albano, legato papale e predicatore della quinta crociata', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 108 (2013), 98–143 (pp. 109–10, 114, 128).
- 49 Reg. Vat. 10, fol. 128<sup>v</sup>:

Noveris autem multitudinem signatorum ad Terre Sancte festinare succursum ad quem etiam karissimus in Christo filius noster Fredericus illustris Sicile in Romanorum imperatorem electus speratur recepta imperii corona in proximo accessurus, quare sicut alter Iosue populum Domini corroborata et conforta sustinens et sustinere docens difficilia quoque animis indefessis, ut opus Dei quod laudabiliter incepisti, ipso auctore valeas feliciter consummare.

*Regesta*, ed. by Pressutti, i, no. 2195.

- 50 Reg. Vat. 11, fol. 1<sup>v</sup>:

Speravimus quoque ut karissimus in Christo filius noster Fredericus illustris rex Sicilie in Romanorum imperatorem electus cum sit cruce signatus in hoc passagio transfretaret, sed sive ab aliis prepeditus sive retardatus propria voluntate id non potest efficere cum sicut idem suis nobis litteris intimavit, non ante quam circa festum beati Michaelis venire proposuerit coronandus, transfretaturus deinde auctore Domino in subsidium Terre Sancte.

*Regesta*, ed. by Pressutti, i, no. 2574; Claverie, *Honorius III et l'Orient*, p. 73.



51 Reg. Vat. 11, fol. 37<sup>v</sup>:

Ad animum autem ipsius ducis ad id fortius incitandum, eidem promissimus, quod duo milia marcarum a te sibi faceremus exolvi, in exercitus Christiani subsidio [*sic*] convertenda. Ideoque fraternitati tue presentium auctoritate mandamus quatinus si dux ipse moram in exercitu Christiano fecerit congruentem, dictam pecuniam sibi de hiis que tibi Dominus per misericordiam suam et per nostrum studium ministrabit, per diversos terminos tribuas cum ea providentia et cautela, quod in iamdicte Terre subsidium convertatur.

*Regesta*, ed. by Pressutti, i, no. 2800.

52 Reg. Vat. 11, fol. 49<sup>r</sup>: 'Confortare ergo in Domino et in eius servitio Christiani exercitus corda confirma, desideratum succursum favente Domino magnifice habiturus.' *Regesta*, ed. by Pressutti, i, no. 2866.

53 Reg. Vat. 11, fol. 61<sup>v</sup>:

Verum quia futura frequenter dubio suspenduntur eventu circumspectio tua provideat si medio tempore possit haberi tractatus qui ad gloriam Dei et Christianitatis cedat honorem, et quod occurrerit nobis antequam stabilius aliquid cito et caute rescribas, ut facta collatione de illis, que per te nobis fuerint intimata, et hiis que tunc parata viderimus ad succursum dirigatur prudentius negotium Ihesu Christi, et provideatur salubrius subsidio Terre Sancte.

*Regesta*, ed. by Pressutti, i, no. 2940.

54 For the terms of the previous peace offer, see Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 160.

55 Reg. Vat. 11, fol. 146<sup>r</sup>:

Porro benigne receptis litteris tuis et consideratis que olim a parte altera sunt oblata, et que ab eadem noviter offeruntur, pactio in litteris ipsis expressa, cum iam dudum conditionem habere potuerimus eque bonam sicut te quasi statim quod Egyptum applicuisti accepimus referente, grata nobis non potuerit existere vel accepta.

*Regesta*, ed. by Pressutti, i, no. 3478.

56 Perry, *John of Brienne*, pp. 113–14.

57 Reg. Vat. 10, fol. 161<sup>v</sup>:

Sane tua nobis serenitas supplicavit, ut regnum Armenie quod ad te ratione karissime in Christo filie nostre H. regine uxoris tue hereditario iure assensis pertinere, tibi tuisque heredibus confirmare de benignitate sedis apostolice dignaremur. Nos igitur tuis iustis postulationibus grato concurrentes assensu, ius quod in ipso regno habere dinosceris, sicut illud rationabiliter obtines, tibi tuisque heredibus auctoritate apostolica confirmamus.

*Regesta*, ed. by Pressutti, i, no. 2320; Claverie, *Honorius III et l'Orient*, no. 47, pp. 355–56.

58 Perry, *John of Brienne*, p. 112.

59 Joseph P. Donovan, *Pelagius and the Fifth Crusade* (Philadelphia, PA, 1950), p. 69.

60 Reg. Vat. 11, fol. 7<sup>r</sup>:

Licet igitur confidamus quod tu hec prudenter attendens evitabis aliquid attemptare per quod perire ac evacuari posset totus labor quem hactenus pro Terra Sancta subiit populus Christianus, ex habundanti tamen sub obtentu gratie divine ac nostre et sub anathematis pena tibi auctoritate presentium districtissime inhibemus, ne hoc tempore aliquatenus arma moveas contra ipsos Armenos aut quoslibet alios Christianos, sed studeas ut tota

Christianitas ultramarina in unitate consistat, et venerabili fratre nostro Pelagio Albanensi episcopo apostolice sedis legato qui strenuitatem tuam frequenter suis nobis litteris commendavit, sicut persone nostre reverenter intendens, studeas quod commune populi Christiani negotium desideratum largiente Domino consequatur effectum, postmodum tuis specialibus commodis operam decentius utiliusque daturus.

*Regesta*, ed. by Pressutti, i, no. 2610; Claverie, *Honorius III et l'Orient*, p. 60.

- 61 Thomas C. Van Cleve, 'The Fifth Crusade', in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. by Kenneth Setton, 6 vols, 2nd edn (Madison, WI, 1969–89), ii: 377–428 (p. 424); Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. by John Gillingham, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1988), p. 226.

- 62 Reg. Vat. 10, fol. 31<sup>r</sup>:

Hec attendentes venerabilis frater noster . . . patriarcha Ierosolimitanus et . . . episcopus Albanensis apostolice sedis legatus, necnon et karissimi filii . . . rex et magistri Hospitalis ac militie Templi et Sancte Marie Teutonicorum Ierosolimitani . . . dux Austrie ac princeps exercitus Romanorum alique prelati et magnates consistentes in obsidione predicta, litteris suis et precibus que lapidea etiam corda emollire possent ad lacrimas nobis instantissime supplicarunt, ut cum expense [sic] quas fecerunt et faciunt in machinis et galeis ac alii bellici sumptus eos pecunia sic exhauserint, ut viris bello strenuis qui pro defectu rerum remeare coguntur, necessaria ministrare non possint, et sic exercitus paulatim cotidie dilabatur, eis post Deum in cismarinorum auxilio totam spem suam habentibus, tam bellatorum quam pecunie succursum mittere festinemus.

*Regesta*, ed. by Pressutti, i, no. 1716.

- 63 Reg. Vat. 10, fols 30<sup>v</sup>–31<sup>v</sup>; *Regesta*, ed. by Pressutti, i, no. 1716.
- 64 Reg. Vat. 10, fol. 31<sup>r</sup>: 'quod vos filii cruce signati proximo Martio vel saltem Madio transfretetis.' *Regesta*, ed. by Pressutti, i, no. 1716.
- 65 Honorius III, *Opera omnia*, ed. by C. A. Horoy, 5 vols (Paris, 1879–82), iii: 86–87; *Regesta*, ed. by Pressutti, i, no. 1779; Claverie, *Honorius III et l'Orient*, p. 64.
- 66 Reg. Vat. 10, fol. 42<sup>r-v</sup>; *Regesta*, ed. by Pressutti, i, no. 1783.
- 67 Reg. Vat. 10, fol. 49<sup>v</sup>; *Regesta*, ed. by Pressutti, i, no. 1808; Claverie, *Honorius III et l'Orient*, p. 64; Barabás, *Das Papsttum und Ungarn*, p. 192.
- 68 Reg. Vat. 10, fol. 48<sup>v</sup>: 'In eundem modum scriptum est fratri Stephano et socio eius in Francia destinatis.' *Regesta*, ed. by Pressutti, i, no. 1815.
- 69 *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, ed. by J. L.A. Huillard-Bréholles, 6 vols (Paris, 1852–61), i: 584–86; Reg. Vat. 10, fols 57<sup>r</sup>–58<sup>r</sup>; Thomas C. Van Cleve, 'The Crusade of Frederick II', in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. by Setton, ii: 429–62 (p. 432).
- 70 Stürner is also convinced that Honorius approached Frederick in November: Stürner, *Friedrich II.*, i: 232.
- 71 Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 111.

## 7 'Having one little wolf at the papal court is not enough'

### The Limits of Papal Authority in Milanese Affairs in the Mid-Fifteenth Century

*Jessika Nowak*

Let me tell your Lordship, as matters stand, you will need more than one little wolf at the papal court. It seems absolutely essential to me that your Lordship will manage to have two of your own people created cardinals, given that the king of Aragon has four cardinals at his disposal, and the Venetians have three at their command.<sup>1</sup>

Sceva da Curte,<sup>2</sup> one of the Milanese envoys at the papal court,<sup>3</sup> wrote these lines on 1 April 1452 to Francesco Sforza, who had been duke of Milan since 1450<sup>4</sup> but was still considered as a usurper by several other rulers.<sup>5</sup> Some cardinals in the mid-fifteenth century could be considered wolves in sheep's clothing and their role should not be underestimated. They were not only essential for communicating and transmitting papal authority and for diffusing and augmenting it as legates outside Rome;<sup>6</sup> they were also pivotal figures in decision-making at the papal court.<sup>7</sup> In the first half of the fifteenth century, the capitulations composed for papal elections stressed that the pope had to rule 'de consilio et consensus maioris partis dominorum cardinalium'.<sup>8</sup> The most important offices at the papal court, such as vice-chancellor and *camerlengo*, were given to cardinals.<sup>9</sup> Their advice was highly esteemed. They played an important role in secret consistories<sup>10</sup> and they discussed thorny matters in special commissions;<sup>11</sup> their influence was not confined only to the curia but extended further afield. They played a significant role in controlling access to the person of the pope, and they insisted, for instance, on influence over the selection of new cardinals.<sup>12</sup> It is symptomatic of this culture that Giovanni Caimi,<sup>13</sup> another ducal envoy at the papal court, warned Francesco Sforza's secretary<sup>14</sup> that the duke had to leave the decision concerning the nomination of a Milanese cardinal to the pope and his cardinals.<sup>15</sup> The cardinals created huge networks and often pulled strings in the background, but sometimes they were also marionettes themselves and acted, for their part, like puppets on the string of the mighty. Nonetheless, they knew how to plot, how to influence the pope, how to guide papal decision-making in a certain direction and how to manipulate the public by disseminating and propagating a certain image. Occasionally, they influenced papal decisions almost inconspicuously, sometimes they

operated less discreetly, and, now and then, they openly applied pressure or threatened directly.

To give an example: in 1456, Pope Calixtus III planned to create some new cardinals.<sup>16</sup> Among the aspirants was a rather unpopular figure, the bishop of Novara, Bartolomeo Visconti, the Milanese protégé.<sup>17</sup> At the beginning of February 1456, Sceva da Curte told the ducal secretary that all the cardinals were against Bartolomeo Visconti, especially Ludovico Trevisan, who could not have opposed the selection more violently if he had tried to become pope himself.<sup>18</sup> The cardinals articulated their aversion quite clearly. Sceva da Curte reported that some cardinals had told him that they would rather prefer to throw the red hat in ‘the shit’ (‘la merda’) than to consent to the ducal wish and to concede it to Bartolomeo Visconti.<sup>19</sup> Several cardinals, obeying the king of Aragon’s order, knew perfectly how to impede and to block the Milanese plans of promoting the bishop of Novara to the cardinalate. Thanks to the letters of another Milanese ambassador, Ottone del Carretto,<sup>20</sup> we are well informed about the events happening backstage and we know about the pressure exerted over the pope.<sup>21</sup> The Milanese dispatches are often enciphered according to a quite elaborate code – a code without any word division and containing polyalphabetic substitutions as well as abstract signs without any meaning – the so-called *nullae*. Further signs also replaced keywords, such as ‘king’, ‘dux’, ‘pope’ or ‘war’, as well as frequent prepositions, conjunctions and combinations of special letters (‘qu’, etc.). Additionally, mistakes were made to confuse the non-authorized reader. Every addressee received a different code, which was altered after some time.<sup>22</sup> It is obvious that without the key, this sophisticated cipher was almost impossible to break.<sup>23</sup> Consequently, when using the elaborate cipher, the Milanese ambassadors often did not feel any further need to obscure or cover the manoeuvrings, intrigues and risky details they sent on to their duke. On 19 December 1456, Ottone del Carretto commented on the pressure exerted over the pope quite frankly in a letter he addressed to Francesco Sforza. Ottone del Carretto was pretty sure that no intruder or infiltrator was able to reconstruct the real message. When one decodes the cipher, the letter reads as follows:

According to Don Baptista [de Brendis<sup>24</sup>], it was a secret manoeuvre of the king of Aragon [Alfonso V]. That is why the cardinal of Messina [Antonio della Cerda], a Catalan, has shown his refusal [to support Bartolomeo Visconti] unmistakably, in a quite vigorous way. At night, he visited the pope three times, stalking and bothering his Holiness with this subject, and he said rather strange things.<sup>25</sup>

Antonio de la Cerda was not the only cardinal seeking to compromise Bartolomeo Visconti, as we can perceive in the letter of Ottone del Carretto’s:

Mister Baptista [de Brendis] also informed me that *monsignore de li Orsini* [Latino Orsini] called on the pope thrice, insisting tenaciously – as

well in the name of the other cardinals as for his own concern – and stressing that the bishop of Novara was his archenemy.<sup>26</sup>

The letter goes into even more detail. When Cardinal Orsini noticed that his efforts would not bear fruit, he did not abandon the scheme; on the contrary, he proceeded in an even more aggressive, intimidating and hostile way:

Then, when he recognised that he could not affect his Holiness because of the promises the pope had made, he started threatening, overwhelmed by tears of anger; as the pope persisted in his viewpoint, [...] he swore to obstruct whatever his Holiness would attempt, and he declared to be – not only during lifetime, but also when his Holiness would have departed this life – ceaselessly and eternally hostile to the papal *familia*; but if the pope did him [Latino Orsini] this favour, he [Latino Orsini] assured to be always very obedient, and he promised that, if the pope decided to promote one of his own people to the cardinalate or another person who pleased the pope, this candidate would get his vote and that of seven other cardinals.<sup>27</sup>

To cut a long story short, thanks to the cardinals' manoeuvres, Bartolomeo Visconti was not awarded the red hat as the duke of Milan had hoped. The pope excused himself, emphasising that the resistance offered by the cardinals could not have been worse if he had dared to nominate his own brother.<sup>28</sup> Francesco Sforza had to be patient. He had to wait until the end of the year 1456 before he could dispose of a 'proper' Milanese cardinal – and this cardinal, Giovanni di Castiglione,<sup>29</sup> was not even a candidate he had supported eagerly – it was the candidate the cardinals had chosen for him.

But if there had not been any Milanese cardinal for six years between 1450 and 1456, how did the duke of Milan manage to sway proceedings at the papal court and influence the pope's mind? An important role was played by some less dangerous 'wolves', his 'dogs', that is, the Milanese ambassadors (sometimes, the Milanese ambassadors even called themselves 'dogs' or 'hounds'). Another Milanese ambassador, Prospero Schiaffino da Camogli,<sup>30</sup> referred to himself in just this way in a letter addressed to the duke of Milan on 23 March 1461:

My lord, I am the first hound that Your Lordship has sent into these fields and if I am not on the right scent and the right track, that is, if I am not reporting truths and the essential matters, as Your Lordship would desire and as my mission requires, I beg Your Lordship to excuse me.<sup>31</sup>

How could such Milanese 'dogs' influence papal decision-making? Of course, there were the usual instruments: begging, pleading, supplicating, imploring, suggesting, giving promises and guarantees, swearing, pressuring, bullying, warning, intimidating and menacing. Ambassadors could

ask for audiences, they could harass the pope by relentlessly pursuing and presenting the same plea, they could annoy and trouble the pope by convincing other people – other ambassadors, bishops or even (foreign) cardinals – to present the same demands. But the Milanese had other means at their disposal; their repertoire was not yet exhausted: they also had the elaborate cipher mentioned above. But how could this cipher be of any use if the papal decisions had to be swayed and changed in a special way?

When he became duke of Milan in 1450, Francesco Sforza's position had been quite fragile.<sup>32</sup> Many other rulers – in the Italian world as well as in the empire and in France – had not considered him the legitimate successor of his father-in-law, Filippo Maria Visconti, and fostered their own aspirations for the duchy of Milan. Francesco Sforza, therefore, needed as many supporters within the duchy of Milan as possible, and he had to be sure that the important Milanese families supported him. In return for such support, they demanded concessions and awaited favours as well as the duke's intervention on their behalf when submitting supplications to the papal court for lucrative benefices. This resulted in a flood of requests all competing for the same favours and left the duke in a difficult position. He could not transmit all the requests to the papal court, but at the same time, he could not reject openly the pleas of the important Milanese families. His solution to this problem was the creation of a secret system, which allowed him to indicate 'the value' of the letter to his ambassadors.<sup>33</sup> The duke of Milan made sure that the letters were written in front of the solicitors. They had to be assured that the duke did his best to satisfy their requests. But by adding secret symbols whose real importance the petitioners ignored, and which the solicitors probably did not even notice, the duke managed to establish a hierarchy of the letters, indicating to his ambassadors at the papal court which supplications and letters of recommendation were really dear to him and which did not affect him at all.<sup>34</sup> The ambassadors knew, therefore, which projects they had to pursue and when to apply pressure, and they understood which projects could be disregarded or given little consideration.

Francesco Sforza even involved the pope in his strategy regarding benefices in Lombardy.<sup>35</sup> A letter he addressed to Pope Nicholas V on 18 June 1450 reads:

[...] given that the troublemakers are numerous and that I am new in this state, if I am asked to write to your Holiness asking for benefices I cannot react in another way than to write to you; those of whom it is my wish that your Holiness would fulfil their requests will dispose of letters in which you will come across little secret signs – as you can see in the present one, and I will attempt to guarantee that the persons whom I recommend are adequate and worthy. Therefore, I beg your Holiness to concede to those whose letters contain the little secret signs the benefices I ask for, but not to the other people [...].<sup>36</sup>

Of course, Francesco Sforza asked the pope not to reveal their agreement:

And I ask your Holiness to keep my letter with the signs secret so that it does not reach the ears of the Lombards because that would cause lots of trouble and a great deal of annoyance as well to your Holiness as to us.<sup>37</sup>

The pope was ‘guided’ by these secret little signs. But what did these symbols look like? They could be small crosses preceding Francesco Sforza’s own signature. Sometimes followed or were intermingled with his autograph, too. They were small, innocent symbols whose presence or absence was not supposed to be noticed by those not privy to the code. In addition to the crosses, the letter ‘s’ meaning *subscripsit* – a common abbreviation and therefore even less evident than other signs – followed the signature. The more ‘s’ marks present, the more important the letter had to be considered, as Francesco Sforza told Giacomo Calcaterra<sup>38</sup> on 16 September 1455, on the occasion of his first embassy to Rome:

[...] concerning our own affairs you will act as it is written in the letters; these letters do not require any signs; if other peoples’ affairs are concerned and if we wish you to put all your energy in realizing them and if the matters are dear to our heart we will sign the letters with our own hand and at the end we will put three SSS, as you can see below. If the letters are not signed by our hand you should do as it seems appropriate to you, and if the letters are signed by our hand and if there are two SS, you have to show more zeal in realizing them than you would do if they were not signed; but those which contain three SSS reflect our deepest desires and you should act accordingly.<sup>39</sup>

The letters, therefore, were classified into three categories: crucial; less important and totally insignificant.

Of course, mistakes could occur if the ambassadors acted amiss. Sometimes a mistake slipped in unintentionally, but every now and then the ambassadors did not abide by the rules, even if they would never have admitted this and pretended generally that they were completely ignorant and were themselves surprised by the result.

This is exactly what Nicodemo Tranchedini did in 1451.<sup>40</sup> In April of that year, Guarnerio di Castiglione, an important counsellor of Francesco Sforza, asked the duke to recommend one of his relatives, Giovanni di Castiglione, who was bishop of Coutances in Normandy, to the pope and to beg him to promote Giovanni to the cardinalate.<sup>41</sup> The duke did not dare to deny his request openly.<sup>42</sup> He omitted the secret signs, and was very surprised and not amused at all to hear afterwards that the ambassadors had eagerly pursued Guarnerio’s cause<sup>43</sup> and that the pope was seriously considering the promotion of Giovanni di Castiglione.<sup>44</sup> As soon as the duke discovered the real state of play, he stressed that he had written the letter

in favour of Giovanni di Castiglione only because Giovanni and Guarnerio di Castiglione had insistently begged him and not because he had had any desire to do it.<sup>45</sup> The duke was deeply annoyed:

[...] as you did not tell us anything, when we got the news we were really astonished that you have dared to perform such a reckless, foolish and presumptuous act as this one seems to be and we can hardly believe that you prefer satisfying the needs of others instead of fulfilling our desires.<sup>46</sup> We are astonished that you are involved in such an act and that you have paid such little attention to our writings.<sup>47</sup>

His exasperation was due to the fact that he wanted Giacomo Borromeo to become a cardinal instead. Giacomo's brother, Filippo,<sup>48</sup> had offered the duke a lot of money in return for the promotion of his brother.<sup>49</sup> Therefore, Francesco Sforza emphasised that he had not included the secret signs and that it had been just a letter of recommendation, without any symbols. But the ambassador and the pope had either not spotted the absence of the symbol or they had deliberately ignored it because they were fond of the Castiglione family. We cannot reconstruct exactly what happened but the ambassador repeatedly assured the duke that he had not seen that the secret symbols were missing. Maybe this was the truth, maybe he was merely pretending not to have noticed them, or maybe he was even covering for the pope who might have decided to override the duke's wishes due to his esteem of Giovanni di Castiglione. That the pope defied the duke's wishes seemed unusual. At least, the duke did not suspect him of doing so. On the contrary, the duke even advised his ambassador to go to the pope and to ask him to let him have another look at the letter in order to verify that the symbols were absent as the duke said.<sup>50</sup> We do not know whether Nicodemo Tranchedini asked the pope to let him see the letter and if he did so, therefore, we cannot be sure that the letter was indeed lacking the secret symbols. Cicco Simonetta, the Milanese secretary and relative of Giovanni di Castiglione (who was married to Elisabetta di Castiglione), could have added them, and it is even possible that Giovanni di Castiglione – who might have been acquainted with the Milanese secrets because of his closeness to Cicco Simonetta – may have forged the letter he needed.<sup>51</sup> We know that Giovanni di Castiglione used this strategy in the following years at least twice when he could not acquire the letters he wanted. In January 1456, for instance, Giovanni di Castiglione desperately needed a letter of recommendation to be promoted to the cardinalate and he decided to accelerate the process: 'I have deliberated that I will not omit any effort and maybe by means of my friends I will try something further'.<sup>52</sup> Indeed, Giovanni di Castiglione wrote a letter in favour of his own recommendation and asked Cicco Simonetta to rewrite this letter in his own hand, without changing the context and the style.<sup>53</sup> Of course, the letter could be even more fervent and much longer, but this way was sufficient.<sup>54</sup> Cicco Simonetta was to hide the copy in a pile of other



letters which the duke had to sign. In the attempt to achieve this without arousing suspicion, the message to be rewritten and secretly signed was quite short.<sup>55</sup> As soon as the duke had put his autograph to it, Cicco Simonetta was supposed to hand the signed document over to a member of Giovanni di Castiglione's family who stayed at Guarnerio di Castiglione's house and who as to transport the letter to Rome before 8 February,<sup>56</sup> without knowing what kind of document he was carrying.<sup>57</sup> He had to ensure that the letter of recommendation arrived in time, before the creation of the new cardinals, which was expected at the beginning of Lent.<sup>58</sup>

The ducal-papal system of communication was vulnerable and prone to error, especially if the Milanese ambassadors began to act on their own authority, taking advantage of weak points in the system. Another means to influence the transmission of the duke's wishes at the papal court and to have an impact on the papal decisions was their performance.

Letters were often read to the pope, and the way in which they were read was supposed to determine the effect they had. A letter read aloud with enthusiasm, zeal and fervour was supposed to turn out to be much more effective than a letter presented apathetically. Indeed, Giacomo Antonio Della Torre,<sup>59</sup> bishop of Modena, wrote a letter to Cicco Simonetta, the secretary of the duke of Milan, on 22 December 1455 in which he complained bitterly about the lack of Giovanni Caimi's<sup>60</sup> passion while reading his letter aloud to the pope:

Giovanni Caimi was talking about him [Giovanni di Castiglione] much more passionately and zealously than he did about all the others, and when he was talking about me he clenched his teeth and spoke lethargically and sluggishly so that I really regret it; Giovanni has not done his duty as Cardinal Colonna has told me, to whom he spoke so languidly and gloomily that the cardinal who knows my devotedness to our Lordship was really astonished that he mentioned me in such a sad and cold way.<sup>61</sup>

It is no surprise that Giovanni di Castiglione was promoted as a cardinal in 1456, and not Giacomo Antonio Della Torre or Francesco Sforza's real protégé, Bartolomeo Visconti.

To conclude, the Milanese impact on papal decision-making in the middle of the fifteenth century did not coincide with the installation of a Milanese cardinal at the papal court. Of course, one or two wolves in the cardinal's pack would have been quite beneficial and advantageous to the interests of the duke of Milan, but thanks to his very qualified ambassadors it was possible for him to pursue his strategies at the papal court quite successfully even without having his 'own' cardinal at his command. In addition, he could rely on a sophisticated system of encrypted communication. But nevertheless, all these opportunities were susceptible to mistakes committed through laxity or negligence or even on purpose by ambassadors pursuing their own agenda.

On the other hand, the pope's authority in Lombardy in the mid-fifteenth century was not only limited by the cardinals' influence but also by the privilege the pope had conceded to Francesco Sforza in 1450, when the new duke, whose position was rather fragile, had to be protected. The pope had to go along with the duke's game of secret codes and his hierarchy of letters. He had to cope with the Milanese ambassadors having, at times, their own agenda and their attempts at manipulation by reading letters of recommendation in a half-hearted way, for instance. And, he had to deal not only with vagaries in their oral performance but also with encrypted letters and forgeries. The promotion of Giovanni di Castiglione to the cardinalate is just one example to illustrate that the process of promotion was one that neither the duke nor the pope could control completely.

## Notes

- 1 'dico la vostra signoria, stando le cosse como stano, non haveti a fare un lupino in questa corte del papa, e parme necessario la vostra signoria faza fare di vostri duy cardinali, che lo re da Ragona ce ne ha quatro, Venetiani tri firmi e certi': (Sceva da Curte to Francesco Sforza, 1 April 1452) Archivio di Stato di Milano, Sforzesco, Potenze Estere [henceforth ASMi, Sf., PE], Roma 40. Cf. Paolo Margaroli, *Diplomazia e stati rinascimentali. Le ambascerie sforzesche fino alla conclusione della Lega italiana (1450–1455)* (Florence, 1992), p. 76, n. 37.
- 2 For further information on this pivotal envoy, see Franca Petrucci, 'Curte (Corte), Sceva de', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, xxxi (1985), pp. 475–78; Franca Leverotti, *Diplomazia e governo dello Stato. I 'famigli cavalcanti' di Francesco Sforza (1450–1466)* (Pisa, 1992), pp. 158–59.
- 3 For further details on Milanese diplomacy and on the role of embassies in the Italian Quattrocento Rome, see – besides Margaroli and Leverotti – Francesco Senatore, 'Uno mundo de carta'. *Forme e strutture della diplomazia sforzesca* (Naples, 1998); Isabella Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict: Italian Diplomacy in the Early Renaissance, 1350–1520* (Oxford, 2015); Catherine Fletcher, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome: The Rise of the Resident Ambassador* (Cambridge, 2015).
- 4 For Francesco Sforza, see Luigi Bignami, *Francesco Sforza (1401–1466)* (Milan, 1938); Clemente Assum, *Francesco Sforza* (Turin, 1945); Georges Peyronnet, 'Il ducato sotto Francesco Sforza (1450–1466), politica interna, vita economica e sociale', *Archivio storico italiano*, 116 (1958), 36–52; idem, 'Francesco Sforza: de condottiere à duc de Milan', in *Gli Sforza a Milano e in Lombardia e i loro rapporti con gli Stati italiani ed europei, 1450–1535, Convegno internazionale, Milano, 18–21 Maggio 1981* (Milan, 1982), pp. 7–25; idem, 'Un virtuose de la guerre et de la paix au quattrocento, Francesco Sforza', *Fifteenth Century Studies*, 19 (1992), 191–208; Franco Catalano, *Francesco Sforza* (Milan, 1984).
- 5 Among these was the emperor who declined to invest Francesco Sforza officially with the duchy of Milan. See, for example, Enrico Lazzaroni, 'Vano tentativo diplomatico di Francesco Sforza per ottenere l'investitura imperiale del Ducato di Milano (1450–1451)', in *Atti e Memorie del IV congresso storico lombardo, Pavia, 18–20 Maggio 1939* (Milan, 1940), pp. 233–68.
- 6 See, for example, Wolfgang Untergehrer, 'Die päpstlichen nuntii und legati im Reich 1447–1484. Zu Personal und Organisation des kurialen Gesandtenwesens' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 2012); Antonín Kalous, *Late Medieval Papal Legation: Between the Councils and the Reformation* (Rome, 2017).

- 7 For the role of the cardinalate, see, for example, *Geschichte des Kardinalats im Mittelalter*, ed. by Jürgen Dendorfer and Ralf Lützelshwab (Stuttgart, 2011); *Die Kardinäle des Mittelalters und der frühen Renaissance*, ed. by Jürgen Dendorfer and Ralf Lützelshwab (Florence, 2013).
- 8 Jürgen Dendorfer, 'I. Papst und Kardinäle, 1. Die Kardinäle wählen den Papst und der Papst kreierte die Kardinäle – die Neudefinition tradierter Rollenzuweisungen, b) Die Wahlkapitulation der Kardinäle', in *Geschichte des Kardinalats*, ed. by Dendorfer and Lützelshwab, pp. 338–41 (esp. p. 339).
- 9 Claudia Märtil, 'I. Papst und Kardinäle, 2. Die Teilhabe der Kardinäle an der Kirchenregierung, b) Die Kardinäle leiten die großen kurialen "Behörden"', in *Geschichte des Kardinalats*, ed. by Dendorfer and Lützelshwab, pp. 350–53.
- 10 Claudia Märtil, 'a) Formen institutionalisierter Beziehung zwischen Papst und Kolleg', in *Geschichte des Kardinalats*, ed. by Dendorfer and Lützelshwab, pp. 346–50 (p. 346).
- 11 *Ibid.*, pp. 347–48.
- 12 Dendorfer, 'I. Papst und Kardinäle', p. 339.
- 13 Franca Petrucci, 'Caimi, Giovanni', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, xvi (1973), pp. 351–53.
- 14 For the ducal secretary, Cicco Simonetta (or Francesco Simonetta), see below n. 51.
- 15 '[...] el faria bene ad remettere al papa et a loro la electione de questi duy perché loro conoscono meglio li preyti': (Giovanni Caimi to Cicco Simonetta, 4 February 1456) ASMi, Sf., PE, Roma 43.
- 16 For this creation, see Jessika Nowak, *Ein Kardinal im Zeitalter der Renaissance. Die Karriere des Giovanni di Castiglione (ca. 1413–1460)* (Tübingen, 2011), esp. pp. 299–305.
- 17 For this bishop, see Chiara Baglione, 'La singolare figura di un vescovo intrapendente a Novara. Bartolomeo Visconti (1402–1457)', *Bollettino storico per la provincia di Novara*, 63 (1972), 3–27; Giuseppe Martini, 'Aicardi (A. Visconti), Bartolomeo', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, i (1960), pp. 513–14.
- 18 'tuti quisti cardinali li sonno contrarii, ma specialmente monsignore lo camerlengo non fa continue mancho praticcha contra di lui ch'el faria s'el volesse lo papato per se ystesso': (Sceva da Curte to Cicco Simonetta, 3 February 1456) ASMi, Sf., PE, Roma 43.
- 19 'et sono de quilli che me hanno dicto che buttariano più tosto el suo capello in la merda che consentire ad quello rechiede el nostro cesare': (Giovanni Caimi to Cicco Simonetta, 4 February 1456) ASMi, Sf., PE, Roma 43.
- 20 For this important envoy, see Lydia Cerioni, *La diplomazia sforzesca nella seconda metà del Quattrocento e i suoi cifrari segreti*, 2 vols (Rome, 1970), i: 158–59; Franca Petrucci, 'Del Carretto, Ottone', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, xxxvi (1988), pp. 436–39.
- 21 ASMi, Sf., PE, Roma 44.
- 22 For some cipher keys, see Cerioni, ii.
- 23 Cicco Simonetta, the secretary of the duke of Milan, had written a treatise dealing with the question of how to break ciphers. All the weak points he spotted were eliminated in the Milanese encryption. For Cicco's treatise, see: Paul-Michel Perret, 'Les règles de Cicco Simonetta pour le déchiffrement des écritures secrètes', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 51 (1890), 516–25; Augusto Buonafalce, 'Cicco Simonetta's Cipher-Breaking Rules', *Cryptologia*, 32.1 (2008), 62–70.
- 24 Massimo Miglio, 'Brendi (Breimi, Brenni, Brenno, de Brendis), Battista', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, xiv (1972), pp. 141–42.
- 25 'ma secundo che esso d. Baptista medesimo me dice è stata opera secreta de la maestà del re de Ragona. Et cosi molto impetuosamente se è demonstrato

- contrario monsignore el cardinale Mesenense, cathelano, andando de nocte tre fiata da nostro signore per molestarlo circa questo, dicendo cose molto strane [...]': (Ottone del Carretto to Francesco Sforza, 19 December 1456) ASMi, PE, Roma 44; see Nowak, p. 300.
- 26 'Item esso misser Baptista me dice de monsignore de li Orsini, el quale tre fiata fu con summa instantia ad pregare nostro signore, incarichandolo per generale interesse de tutto el collegio loro, poy per sua specialità, dicendo ch'el vescovo de Novara gli era capitale inimico': *ibid.*
- 27 'Poy, vedendo ch'el non poteva muovere la sanctità sua per le promesse haveva facte, tandem con le lachryme sdegnate cominciò ad sconzurare che, poyché sua sanctità era ad questo disposta, ello non voleva esserli traditore, et como iniuriato da sua sanctità zurava de esserli sempre adverso ad ogni cosa che la sua sanctità cercasse, etiam non solum in vita, ma quando altro fusse de sua sanctità, de essere inimico ad tutti li suoy; unde, compiacendoli in questo, prometteva in ogni cosa esserli obedientissimo; et, volendo alcuno di suoy o altri elegere che ad sua sanctità fossero grati, gli prometteva la voce sua e de sette altri cardinali': *ibid.*, pp. 300–01, n. 84.
- 28 'Non potria dire quanto si dolle che non havesse potuto compiacere a vostra excellencia, la qual tanto amava, et qui se extense assay perché già tre volte a cotali tempi de creatione de cardinali se era sforzato a far questo, et che era impossibile obtenerlo, che may non vide tanta volontà de tutti cardinali, excepti duy, et che recordavono odii et cause antique et altre maladitione, tanto che niuna cosa li paresse may tanto odiosa al collegio quanto questa; assay disse, scusandose, perché troppo li seria duro far una cosa con tanto scandalo, et se volesse fare uno suo fratello, non lo faria in tanta contrarietà': *ibid.*, p. 302, n. 91.
- 29 Nowak; Franca Petrucci, 'Castiglioni, Giovanni', *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, xxii (1979), pp. 156–58.
- 30 For Prospero Schiaffino da Camogli, see Paul M. Kendall and Vincent Ilardi, 'Introduction', in *Dispatches with Related Documents of Milanese Ambassadors in France and Burgundy, 1450–1483*, ed. and trans. by Paul M. Kendall and Vincent Ilardi, 2 vols (Athens, OH, 1970–71), ii: xvi–xvii; Cerioni, i: 227–28; Leverotti, pp. 203–04.
- 31 'Signor mio, io sum lo primo braco che V.S. habi mandato in queste stobie, et se non fusse cossi sul dritto nasto et orme dele cose vere et necessarie, come V.S. desideraria et seria officio de servo, io prego V.S. chi me habi per excuso': *Related Documents*, ed. Kendall and Ilardi, ii: no. 85, pp. 216–17.
- 32 For this delicate situation, see, for example, Ludwig von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*, i: *Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter der Renaissance bis zur Wahl Pius' II. – Martin V., Eugen IV., Nikolaus V., Kalixtus III.*, 12th edn (Freiburg, 1955), pp. 425–26.
- 33 For this system of giving a special value to some letters, see Vincent Ilardi, 'Crosses and Carets: Renaissance Patronage and Coded Letters of Recommendation', *The American Historical Review*, 92 (1987), 1127–49.
- 34 'El contrasigno ne rechiedeti ve lo mandamo, come vedereti per queste alligate: questo contrasigno usaremo per lo venire in quelle cose vorremo siano omnino messe a executione et che ne tocarano el core et l'animo. L'altre littere che saranno senza esso serano de facti privati o de cose non troppo importante, quale saremo ben contenti che con honesta e debita instancia ve studiate exquirle, non passando li termini del conveniente, come vuy per vostra prudencia saperete cognoscere, ma quelle vedereti col contrasigno siati certo vegnarano de pura et vera nostra volontà, et in quello ve sforzaretì per ogni modo che sortiscano effecto': (Francesco Sforza to Giacomo Calcaterra, 17 September 1455) ed. by Senatore, p. 370.

- 35 The papal letter from 1 April (which may have been back-dated to April several weeks later) is in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana cod. Z 219 sup., no. 9425. Some copies with several modifications can be found in ASMi, RD 51, fol. 126<sup>r</sup>; RD 214, fol. 143<sup>v</sup>.
- 36 'Et perchè li importuni sonno assai, et siando novo in questo Stato, como sò, siando pregato che scriva a la santità vostra per beneficii, non porrò fare che non scriva: per quelli, i quali serà mio desiderio che cum effectu siano compiaciuti da la santità vostra, portaranno littere con li intersegni, como sta questa presente, et me sforzarò che questi tali proponerò saranno persone idonee et digne. Sichè digne la santità vostra ad quelli che portaranno tale intersigno, conferire lo beneficio per lo quale se scriverà, et non ad altre persone': ed. by Ilardi, no. I, p. 1146.
- 37 'Et se degni la santità vostra fare tenere questa mia littera cum signali talmente secreta *quod ad aures Lombardorum non veniat*, perchè seria casone de torre molestia a la santità vostra ed ad nui [...]': *ibid.*  
 For this agreement, see, for example, Michele Ansani, '*Quod ad aures Lombardorum non veniat*. Osservazioni intorno al cosiddetto indulto di Niccolò V a Francesco Sforza', in *Le storie e la memoria, in onore di Arnold Esch*, ed. by Roberto Delle Donne and Andrea Zorzi (Florence, 2002), pp. 53–67; *idem*, 'La provvista dei benefici (1450–1466). Strumenti e limiti dell'intervento ducale', in *Gli Sforza, la Chiesa lombarda, la corte di Roma. Strutture e pratiche beneficiarie del ducato di Milano (1450–1535)* (Naples, 1989), pp. 1–113; Luigi Fumi, 'Chiesa e Stato nel dominio di Francesco Sforza da documenti inediti dell'Archivio di Stato e dell'Ambrosiana di Milano', *Archivio storico lombardo*, 51 (1924), 1–74; Luigi Prosdocimi, 'Chiesa e istituzioni ecclesiastiche a Milano di fronte alla formazione dello stato territoriale', in *Problemi di storia religiosa lombarda, Atti della tavola rotonda, Varenna, 2–4 IX 1969*, ed. by Gioachino Rigamonti (Como, 1972), pp. 88–100; *idem*, *Il diritto ecclesiastico dello Stato di Milano dall'inizio della Signoria viscontea al periodo tridentino (sec. XIII–XVI)* (Milan, 1941); *idem*, 'Lo stato sforzesco di fronte alla chiesa milanese e al papato', in *Gli Sforza a Milano e in Lombardia e i loro rapporti con gli Stati italiani ed europei (1450–1535), Convegno internazionale, Milano, 18–21 Maggio 1981* (Milan, 1982), pp. 147–64.
- 38 Franca Petrucci, 'Calcaterra, Iacopo', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, xvi (1973), pp. 512–13.
- 39 '[...] perchè accade continuo scrivervi per multe e varie facende et non havendo altro ordine da nuy, nè altro segnale de intelligentia, non poresti sapere quale fossere cose in le quale havessevo cum maiore instantia et efficacia operarvi poresti a le fiare errare, dicimo che in li fatti nostri propy fariti secundo le littere haveriti; in questi non accade segnale. In le facende de li altri, quando nostra intencione sarà ve riscaldati et faciati con effetto a la expeditione et che ne saranno ad cuore, sottoscriverimo le littere de nostra propria mano et in fine farimo tri SSS, como sta qui de sotto. Non siando le littere sottoscripte, farite quello poretì cum honestate, et siando le littere sottoscripte et siano doi SS, fariti più caldamente che per quelle non saranno sottoscripte; ma quelle haveranno tri SSS, saranno ex intimo cordis et così operariti': (Francesco Sforza to Giacomo Calcaterra, 16 September 1455) ed. by Ilardi, no. III, p. 1147. See Senatore, p. 370.
- 40 For this envoy, see Cerioni, i: 242–43; Paola Sverzellati, 'Per la biografia di Nicodemo Tranchedini da Pontremoli, ambasciatore sforzesco', *Aevum*, 72 (1998), 485–557; *eadem*, 'Niccolò V visto da un umanista pontremolese. I dispacci di Nicodemo Tranchedini a Milano', in *Niccolò V nel sesto Centenario della nascita, Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Sarzana, 8–10 X 1998*, ed. by Franco Bonatti and Antonio Manfredi (Vatican City, 2000), pp. 329–50.

- 41 Franca Petrucci, 'Castiglioni, Guarnerio', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, xxii (1979), pp. 161–66; Ettore Tito Villa, *Guarnerio da Castiglione, consigliere ducale* (Milan, 1974).
- 42 'Nui ti scrivessimo altra volta, como ti devi ricordare, in favore et raccomandatione del vescovo de Constanza, como pregati da messer Guarnero (et di alcuni altri suoi parenti qui) perché lui è più de la casa de Castione': (Francesco Sforza to Nicodemo Tranchadini, 31 May 1451) ASMi, Sf., PE, Roma 40. See Riccardo Fubini, 'Niccolò V, Francesco Sforza e la lega italiana. Un memoriale adespoto di Giovanni Castiglioni, vescovo di Coutences [sic] (Milano, 12 settembre 1451)', in *Papato, Stati Regionali e Lunigiana nell'età di Niccolò V, Atti delle giornate di studio, La Spezia, Sarzana, Pontremoli, Bagnone, 25–28 V 2000*, ed. by Eliana M. Vecchi (La Spezia, 2004), pp. 169–203 (p. 175).
- 43 'esso vescovo è venuto qui et ne ha dicto [...] che ultra ciò tu te sei operato molto caldamente in lo facto suo et che l'hai reducto ad bono fine': (Francesco Sforza to Nicodemo Tranchadini, 31 May 1451) ASMi, Sf., PE, Roma 40; see Nowak, p. 75, n. 57.
- 44 'È stato da nui monsignore vescovo de Constantia, quale ne ha presentato alcune soe lettere de XI e XIII ha portate el suo capellano, quale ne ha dicto che lui ha lettere de corte che la sanctità de nostro signore, per lo singulare amore et affectione che gli porta, ha deliberato farlo cardinale, et crediva per quella lettera che scrivessimo là in suo favore': (Francesco Sforza to Nicodemo Tranchadini, 31 May 1451) ASMi, Sf., PE, Roma 40; see Nowak, p. 75, n. 55.
- 45 '[...] tu sai che quelle lettere scrivessimo per costui fo ad instantia et pregeri suoi et de messer Guarnero et non già che ne havessimo voglia': (Francesco Sforza to Nicodemo Tranchadini, 31 May 1451) ASMi, Sf., PE, Roma 40; see Margaroli, p. 76, n. 40; Fubini, Niccolò V, p. 175; Nowak, p. 75, n. 58.
- 46 '[...] de la quale cosa, non havendone avuto altro da ti, ne serimo fortemente meravigliati de ti che habbi usato un acto così temerario et presuntuoso, come ne pare questo, che non lo possiamo quasi credere, et che tu vogli più tosto fare li facti de altri che li nostri': (Francesco Sforza to Nicodemo Tranchadini, 31 May 1451) ASMi, Sf., PE, Roma 40; see Margaroli, p. 76, n. 40; Nowak, p. 74, n. 54).
- 47 '[...] de la quale cosa molto se meravegliamo che ti habbi transcenere in simile acto, havendo havuto si puoco respecto al nostro scrivere': (Francesco Sforza to Nicodemo Tranchadini, 31 May 1451) ASMi, Sf., PE, Roma 40; see Nowak, pp. 74–75, no. 54.
- 48 Giorgio Chittolini, 'Borromeo (Bonromeus, Borromaeus), Filippo', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, xiii (1971), pp. 45–46.
- 49 For the ducal preference for Giacomo Borromeo, see Nowak, pp. 77–83.
- 50 Nowak, p. 76, n. 61.
- 51 Unfortunately, Cicco's diary only begins in 1473.
- 52 'Me son deliberato de non lassare manchare niente dal mio conto et io forse per lo mezo de li amici intendo qualche cosa più inanze': (Giovanni di Castiglione to Cicco Simonetta, 4 January 1456) ASMi, Sf., PE, Roma 43; see Nowak, p. 241, nn. 136, 138.
- 53 'non vogliate mutare niente de la minuta vi mando': (Giovanni di Castiglione to Cicco Simonetta, 4 January 1456) ASMi, Sf., PE, Roma 43; see Nowak, p. 243, n. 148.
- 54 '[...] poterea bene scrivere più caldamente et più largamente, ma mi basta quelli modo perché è tanto honesto che quase a ogniuno se poterea exhibere': (Giovanni di Castiglione to Cicco Simonetta, 4 January 1456) ASMi, Sf., PE, Roma 43; see Nowak, p. 243, n. 150.
- 55 'Ve mando una minuta honestissima et piccinina affin la possiate con mancho fatica scriverla de vostra man et farle poy ben sottoscriverla da lo prefato signore nostro': (Giovanni di Castiglione to Cicco Simonetta, 4 January 1456) ASMi, Sf., PE, Roma 43; see Nowak, p. 243, n. 149.

- 56 'Io mando questo mio famiglo da la magnificentia vostra, el qualle bisogna sia qui al più tarde a otto de febraio. Poterà interim stare in casa de messere Guarnero': (Giovanni di Castiglione to Cicco Simonetta, 4 January 1456) ASMi, Sf., PE, Roma 40; see Nowak, p. 244, n. 154.
- 57 Nowak, p. 243, n. 153.
- 58 'Nostro signore se deliberava de fare cardinali, pure la cosa e[s]t differita fin a questo comenzamento de guaresema': (Giovanni di Castiglione to Cicco Simonetta, 4 January 1456) ASMi, Sf., PE, Roma 40; see Nowak, p. 241, n. 140.
- 59 Tiziana Di Zio, 'Della Torre, Giacomo Antonio', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, xxxvii (1988), pp. 560–61; Leverotti, pp. 162–63.
- 60 Petrucci, 'Caimi', pp. 351–53; Cerioni, i: 151–52.
- 61 'Zoane Caymo de luy ha parlato più caldamente che de niuno altro, de my ha parlato fra ly denty et cussy lentamente che me ne rinrese perché la fede mia et operatione mie non meritano questo [...] Zoane non ha facto il debito suo, secundo me ha riferito il cardinale Colona, al quale parlete cussy tristamente per modo ch'el cardinale, il quale sa la fede mia [...] verso lo illustrissimo signore nostro, se meravegliò che cussy tristamente et fredamente me nominasse': (Giacomo Antonio Della Torre to Cicco Simonetta, 22 December 1455) ASMi, Sf., PE, Roma 43; see Nowak, p. 240, n. 133.

## **Part III**

# **Papal Authority on the Edges of Christendom**





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## 8 Why Did a Viking King Meet a Pope?

### Cnut's Imperial Politics, Scandinavian Commercial Networks, and the Journey to Rome in 1027

*Minoru Ozawa*

#### Introduction

According to John of Worcester, a young Dane named Cnut was elected king of England by the magnates present at Southampton in spring 1016.<sup>1</sup> As a son of the Danish King Swein and a Polish mother Gunnhild, he became a Viking warlord who plundered the British Isles with his father and Scandinavian magnates, probably beginning in 991.<sup>2</sup> In 1016, Cnut defeated his rival Edmund Ironside and the English and Scandinavian magnates arrayed against him. At the meeting at Alney in Gloucestershire, these two powerful rulers agreed to divide the country: Edmund took Essex while Cnut received Mercia and the northern part of England.<sup>3</sup> But, soon afterwards, the English king died. Cnut was quickly established as the ruler of the entire kingdom of England by the witan consisting of the English elites, even though he might have been recognised as one of the most infamous Scandinavian plunderers of Christendom.<sup>4</sup>

As is well known, Cnut became one of the most influential rulers in early eleventh-century northern Europe.<sup>5</sup> After assuming the crown of England, he took over as ruler of Denmark in 1018, succeeding his brother Harald. In 1028, he expelled the then-Norwegian king Olaf Haraldson from the country and took over the throne of Norway. At the time, Cnut was recognised as a powerful monarch reigning over three kingdoms surrounding the North Sea.<sup>6</sup> According to some historical sources, his power exerted a profound influence not only on the core of the three kingdoms but also on the surrounding polities: the kingdoms of the Scots, the Welsh, and the Swedes.<sup>7</sup> The *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, an eleventh-century Flemish narrative, described Cnut as follows: 'When, however, King Knutr first obtained the absolute rule of the Danes, he was emperor of five kingdoms, for he had established claim to the rule of Denmark, England, Wales, Scotland and Norway'.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, Cnut, in a letter to the English in 1027, called himself 'king of all England, and of Denmark, and of the Norwegians, and of part of the Swedes'.<sup>9</sup> These expressions might not have reflected the full reality, but, as some historians have shown, they could have been partially true.<sup>10</sup> Here it can be supposed that Cnut's *imperium* was created as a real polity.

Having established his rule around the North Sea, Cnut proceeded to the next stage of his reign. His interests turned to the higher authorities: the emperor and the pope. Cnut met Emperor Conrad II when he, together with King Rudolf of Burgundy, attended his imperial coronation by Pope John XIX in Rome at Easter in 1027.<sup>11</sup> We can assume that it would have been of political importance for the ruler of the northern *imperium* to meet the neighbouring powerful ruler under the authority (in theory) of the Roman *imperium*.<sup>12</sup> Conrad's son Henry and Cnut's daughter Gunhild would be married in 1036, after Cnut's death. But why did Cnut meet a pope? This is the starting point of this chapter.

### **Cnut's Pilgrimage to Rome**

The C version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which was compiled as a kind of public record of the Anglo-Saxon royal court from the reign of Alfred onwards, relates that Cnut went to Rome in 1027.<sup>13</sup> This is a very simple entry, but it does indicate that the event was, in fact, regarded as important for the chronicler. The *Chronicle* does not contain long entries made during Cnut's reign, whereas much longer and more detailed entries are allocated to other Anglo-Saxon kings before and after him, such as Aethelred II, Edmund Ironside, and Edward the Confessor.

More detailed information on the visit to Rome is provided by Cnut's 1027 letter to Archbishop Æthelnoth of Canterbury, Archbishop Ælfric of York, and all the people of England, which can be found in the *Chronicle* of John of Worcester.<sup>14</sup> Cnut provided a glimpse into his motivations when he stated:

I inform you that I have recently gone to Rome, and have prayed for the redemption of my sins, and for the safety of the kingdoms whose people are subject to my rule.<sup>15</sup>

Another source, the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, indicates that Cnut visited all the churches in Rome and explains how he travelled to Rome. This panegyric was written in Flanders in 1042, in dedication to Cnut's widow, Emma, and offered a relatively detailed account of the king's path to Rome:

Consequently what church does not still rejoice in his gifts? But to say nothing of what he did for those in his own kingdom, Italy blesses his soul every day, Gaul begs that it may enjoy benefits, and Flanders, above all, prays that it may rejoice in heaven with Christ. For he went to Rome by way of these countries, and as appears from many things, he displayed on this journey such great charitable activities, that if anyone should wish to describe them all, although he might make innumerable volumes out of these matters, at length he will admit in failure that he has not covered even the least ones.<sup>16</sup>

This passage states that on the way to Rome, Cnut performed great charitable activities in Flanders, France, and Italy. Moreover, the following section describes in detail Cnut's act of charity for St Omer and St Bertin in Flanders,<sup>17</sup> where the *Encomium* panegyrist wrote to Emma. However, these sources do not reveal the entirety of Cnut's acts of generosity to churches and monasteries. Historians have pointed to further examples of Cnut's gifts to holy institutions, not only in Flanders, France, and Italy but also in the British Isles and Germany.<sup>18</sup>

In any case, these testimonies suggest that Cnut's journey was a pilgrimage undertaken to atone for the misdeeds in which he engaged until 1027, when he was enthroned and gained power over certain kingdoms and their surroundings. For what misdeeds did Cnut atone? There was a large amount of slaughter, including of prelates, in the process of the creation of his *imperium*. As Elaine Treharne has rightly noted, he offered pious donations to holy institutions on the way to Rome in an effort to persuade his contemporaries to remember him as a pious Christian ruler.<sup>19</sup> The important point here is not whether he became genuinely pious but that his actions would have made him appear to be so to his contemporaries. To that end, his pilgrimage to Rome and his meeting with Pope John XIX seem to have been effective.

### The Political Background

As the contemporary sources above show, Cnut acted piously on his pilgrimage to Rome. We can justly understand that Cnut was a pious Christian king. However, we must remember that there was another side to Cnut's display of religiosity on his pilgrimage to Rome: a political message to the English, the people of his *imperium*, and other political actors within Christendom.

First, Cnut's maintenance and furtherance of his relationship with the papacy would have had a political meaning for his people, especially for the clergy of England. They owed two special burdens to the pope: the payment of Peter's Pence and the receipt of the *pallium*. As Francesca Tinti and Rory Naismith demonstrate, Peter's Pence functioned well in later Anglo-Saxon society.<sup>20</sup> We do not know exactly how much was paid to the papacy, but article 9 in I Cnut's law stipulated its payment.<sup>21</sup> Cnut's letter of 1027 states the problem with the custom of new archbishops visiting Rome to receive the *pallium*:

Again I complained in the lord pope's presence and expressed my grave displeasure that my archbishops were so greatly straitened by the vast sum of money which was required of them when they travelled to the apostolic see according to custom to receive the *pallium*; and it was decreed that this should not henceforth occur.<sup>22</sup>

Cnut had to give great care to the clergy because his rule over England was supported by them. As a Viking warrior, Cnut himself would not have

known how to govern the England that was administered with Latin and vernacular written documents as previous kings had done. However, he succeeded in governing the kingdom effectively after his English coronation because he was supported by the clerical staff who were responsible for providing advice and producing administrative documents.<sup>23</sup> It was Archbishop Wulfstan of York who decided the general policy during the first phase of Cnut's reign, for example.<sup>24</sup> It might be thought that Cnut's 1018 law was his political manifesto based on the archbishop's idea that expected the Viking king to have the pride and practice of a monarch of Christendom rather than a raider of England.<sup>25</sup>

We should turn now to consider the wider European political context. The political policy of the Danish Jelling dynasty had changed from the reign of Harald Bluetooth (c. 960–87) to that of Swein (987–1013). Harald's newly Christianised kingdom was still a local one whose politics focused chiefly on its relations with Scandinavia and, at most, the neighbouring polities facing the Baltic Sea.<sup>26</sup> Then Denmark became one of the most powerful kingdoms in northern Europe when Swein expanded westwards.<sup>27</sup> However, when his son Cnut's *imperium* was formed, the political phase in which Denmark was involved also changed dramatically: Cnut became a participant in the international politics of Christendom as a Christian king as well as a Viking leader. Because Cnut was still regarded as the leader of the Vikings by other Christian kings and magnates in the first phase of his reign, it required him to demonstrate that he was a Christian king in order to recover from the infamous reputation his father left to him and to participate in the international politics of Christendom. In this regard, his most important task was to make the pope, the apex of Christendom, acknowledge his position.

### **The Making of a Scandinavian Network**

Recent scholarship has pushed back the date of the beginning of the Scandinavian expansion to around 750 or even before that. As scholars such as Thomas Noonan, Roman Kovalev, and Marek Jankowiak have shown, one of the reasons for this was the development of silver mines in Transoxania, the revitalisation of dirham production in the Sāmānid dynasty, and its distribution in western Eurasia.<sup>28</sup> As a result, Scandinavians also expanded eastward in search of this dirham, while merchants from elsewhere approached Scandinavia in search of slaves and furs to be exchanged. The economic system of western Eurasia, including Scandinavia, began to undergo major changes in conjunction with the rise and restructuring of the Carolingian, Byzantine, and Abbasid empires, which reached a turning point in the eighth century.<sup>29</sup>

As a result of the changes in the economic structure, trading centres for the exchange of goods emerged throughout Scandinavia. As was recently shown by a team of archaeologists from Aarhus, Ribe was established as a northern *emporium* on the west coast of the Jutland Peninsula in the early

eighth century, facing the North Sea.<sup>30</sup> Other centres were also established at the nodes of maritime routes, such as Hedeby in Denmark, Skiringsal in Norway, and Birka in Sweden. They were networked in a way that was closely linked to the growth of local polities and the overseas expansion of the Scandinavians. They functioned as nodes of accumulation and distribution of commodities that attracted merchants from within and outside Scandinavia. In addition, especially as the Scandinavians expanded after the tenth century, urban settlements grew rapidly in the areas where Scandinavian and local cultures merged. Various nodes for the Scandinavians, such as Novgorod in Russia, Kiev in Ukraine, Wolin in Poland, York and Five Boroughs (Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, Lincoln, and Stafford) in England, Dublin and Waterford in Ireland, and Caen and Rouen in Normandy, were newly created or were revitalised. It is worth noting that all these were located along rivers and waters away from the centres of great powers such as the Anglo-Saxon kings, the Carolingians, and the Byzantines.

In addition, old centres such as London, Winchester, Paris, and Verdun, were also reactivated. Michael McCormick did not take into account the situation in peripheral North Sea Europe in his influential book,<sup>31</sup> but, as many historians and archaeologists such as Peter Sawyer, Søren M. Sindbæk, Fedir Androschuk, and others have shown, new factors such as the influx of dirhams, the expansion of the Scandinavians, and the trades in slaves and furs were creating a new economic situation based on emerging trade networks in northern Europe in addition to the ones in western Europe and the Mediterranean.<sup>32</sup> Like Wallerstein's 'Modern World System' or Abu-Lughod's 'Thirteenth-Century World System', but in a different way, it could connect some sub-systemed economic units to reorganise the trade networks in western Eurasia.<sup>33</sup> As recent scholarship has shown, the Scandinavians were in the most advantageous position to use the network of seas, islands, and rivers from the North Atlantic to the Black Sea and Caspian Sea when various centres were connected via networks.<sup>34</sup> As a result, the networking structure of exchange between their own trading centres in the 'Viking world' ensured the uniqueness of Scandinavian activities and their openness to the outside world.<sup>35</sup> Through these networks, the Scandinavian chieftains accumulated their own power resources; one of the most powerful was the Jelling kingship in Denmark. Here it is important to recall that the maritime *imperium* of Cnut took place in the final stage of the reorganisation process of Scandinavian networking.

This raises an important question: how did the Scandinavian trade with the merchants of different cultural backgrounds? Traditional scholarship has not taken this question into enough consideration. In general, it has been assumed that the savage and illiterate Scandinavians used violence to force trade on their partners. But this conclusion seems to be inaccurate. The Scandinavians in the Viking Age were not such a simple people, though comparatively violent, but had their own way of communication and tactics of trading. In order to make their trade safer and more active,

they would have had to communicate effectively with others and make legal arrangements based on contemporary customs of each region. To understand the development of commercial treaties by the Scandinavians, we will examine the process of communication in trading since the ninth century.

### **Scandinavian Commercial Treaties with Other Polities**

The entry in the *Fulda Annals* for 873 informs us about a council held at Bürstadt where:

The envoys of Sigifrid, the king of the Danes, also came there, seeking to make peace over the border disputes between themselves and the Saxons and so that merchants of each kingdom might come and go in peace to the other, bringing merchandise to buy and sell; the king promised that for his part these terms would be kept.<sup>36</sup>

This refers to the occasion on which Louis the German transacted with the envoys of Sigifrid, king of the Danes, in order to maintain peace for the sake of trade between the two peoples. At nearly the same time, we find a treaty between the Scandinavians and another polity – the treaty between King Alfred of England and Guthrum, a Danish chieftain, which is famous for establishing the so-called Danelaw in England:

And we all agreed on the day when the oaths were sworn, that no slaves nor freemen might go without permission into the army of the Danes, any more than any of theirs to us. But if it happens that from necessity any one of them wishes to have traffic with us, or we with them, for cattle or goods, it is to be permitted on condition that hostages shall be given as a pledge of peace and as evidence so that one may know no fraud is intended.<sup>37</sup>

Here the relevant expression is ‘to have traffic with us [the English], or we with them [the Danes], for cattle or goods’, which suggests that regular trading and commercial communication should exist between the English and the Danes.

If we turn to examine the situation in the East we find three treaties between Rus’ and Byzantine emperors in the tenth century. The Rus’ (an ethnic identity of Scandinavian origin) immediately became interested in trade with the Byzantine Empire when they settled around Kiev in the middle of the ninth century. At the beginning of the settlement, however, the chieftains of the Rus’ had ravaged Constantinople beyond the Black Sea.<sup>38</sup> As has been shown, the Scandinavians were already preoccupied with the East around 750 in search of the dirhams circulating in western Eurasia. The influx of these silver coins beyond the Baltic Sea succeeded in connecting Byzantium and, beyond that, the western part of the Islamicate region

with Scandinavia.<sup>39</sup> According to the *Russian Primary Chronicle*, Rus' transacted treaties with the Byzantine Empire three times. The first treaty was contracted between Oleg, Emperor Leon VI, and the co-emperor Alexander III in 907. The treaty was short and simple. Their proposition was as follows:

The Rus who come hither shall receive as much grain as they require. Whosoever comes as merchants shall receive supplies for six months, including bread, wine, meat, fish and fruit. Baths shall be prepared for them in any volume they require. When the Rus return homeward, they shall receive from your emperor food, anchors, cordage, and sails and whatever else is needed for the journey.<sup>40</sup>

Here, the Rus' required the empire to supply Rus' merchants with provisions and baths for six months and, before they returned home to Russia, whatever they needed for their journey by land and water. This treaty indicates that the Rus' merchants could pursue trading activities in Constantinople for half a year and acquire what they needed. Moreover, the situation would have given the Rus' more opportunities to trade with the Byzantines than they had before. The second treaty, sealed in 911, was also contracted between 15 delegates of Oleg and the two emperors.<sup>41</sup> The third and final treaty was contracted between the Rus' prince Igor, Emperor Romanos I, Princes Constantine VII and Stephanos in 945. It consists of 16 articles and suggests that the relationship between the Rus' and the empire had entered a new stage. Article 15 states that if the Byzantine Empire required military assistance against its adversaries, they would send a request to the Rus' prince and he would despatch as many soldiers as were required.<sup>42</sup> This demonstrates that the relationship between the Rus' and the empire had changed from one based on trade treaties to one based on a military treaty. In any case, the succession of treaties demonstrates that the Eastern Scandinavians were interested in commerce with the Byzantine Empire rather than simply seeking to loot it.

According to the *Deeds of the Norman Dukes*, written by William of Jumièges in the twelfth century, a treaty was contracted by Swein, king of Denmark, and Duke Richard of Normandy around the year 1000:

A treaty of continuous peace was then concluded between them, according to which the kings of the Danes and the dukes of the Normans, as well as their heirs in the future, would maintain permanent peace; the Danes would sell their booty in Normandy. If a Dane were ill or wounded and in need of his friends' help he would be securely looked after by the Normans as if he were at home. To ensure that the treaty was firm and lasting both princes sanctioned it on each side by means of oaths.<sup>43</sup>

This treaty is recorded not in an original diplomatic document but only in William of Jumièges' narrative, which has inclined some historians to doubt



its authenticity.<sup>44</sup> It is, however, undeniable that the Scandinavians, the majority of whom would be the Danes, had ceaselessly communicated with Normandy through its traders since the Scandinavians first settled there in the tenth century.<sup>45</sup> Rouen was the trading centre where merchants from the British Isles, the Continent and Scandinavia all gathered.<sup>46</sup> Normandy under the reign of Richard enjoyed peace during the turmoil caused by the Scandinavians in England, Ireland, and on the Continent;<sup>47</sup> it is no wonder, then, that the Scandinavians needed Normandy in order to sell their plunder and to give security to those wounded in their campaigns.

The above examples suggest that the Scandinavians from the ninth to eleventh centuries were intelligent traders with their own commercial strategies. They had the measures to establish treaties with princes, kings, and emperors according to their ways of communication, sometimes making use of written documents. We have only examined a handful of examples here, but we can assume that the Scandinavians also may have established treaties with other polities that went unrecorded in contemporary sources.

Here, Cnut's second letter from 1027, is particularly relevant. A Latin translation of the letter was transmitted by the twelfth-century historians John of Worcester and William of Malmesbury. The identification of Abbot Lyfing of Tavistock as one of the messengers who delivered the letter dates it to 1027, soon after Cnut attended the imperial coronation of Conrad II. The content of the letter is much like that of 1018: it focuses on good lordship in return for justice being mercifully and impartially applied. Article 6 of the letter reads as follows:

I therefore spoke with the emperor [Conrad II] and the lord pope [John XIX] and the princes who were present, concerning the needs of all the people of my whole kingdom, whether English or Danes, that they might be granted more equitable law and greater security on their way to Rome, and that they should not be hindered by so many barriers on the way and so oppressed by unjust tolls; and the emperor consented to my demands; and King Rudolf, who chiefly had dominion over those barriers, and all the princes confirmed by edicts that my men, whether merchants or others travelling for the sake of prayer, should go to and return from Rome in safety with firm peace and just law, free from hindrances by barriers and toll-gatherers.<sup>48</sup>

The letter indicates that Cnut petitioned Conrad II, Pope John XIX, and the princes for two requirements that would serve 'the needs of all the people of his whole kingdom'. The first was that the people should be treated more equitably under the law and granted greater security on their way to Rome; the second was that they should not be hindered by so many barriers and unjust tolls along the way. Moreover, Cnut told Rudolf of Burgundy and all the princes to confirm by edicts that 'his men, whether merchants or others travelling for the sake of prayer, should go to and return from Rome

in safety with firm peace and just law, free from hindrances by barriers and toll-gatherers'. Here we should emphasise the expression 'whether merchants or others travelling for the sake of prayer'. Cnut demanded that the princes not hinder his subjects, especially his merchants and pilgrims, from travelling to and from Rome. For him, merchants and pilgrims were worth protecting through communication and negotiation with the emperor and even the pope.

Here we should remember the wider context supplied by the commercial treaties from the ninth to the eleventh century, examined above. As the Scandinavians expanded their commercial network, they communicated with the polities they met and concluded commercial treaties with them for the safe and sustainable trade in Saxony, England, Byzantium, and Normandy, which we can confirm in the written sources. It is probable that there were other treaties that we cannot find in the surviving sources. The Scandinavian network of commerce based on these treaties would function as one of the factors which supported the *imperium* of Cnut. Thus, Cnut needed to meet Pope John XIX in order to expand and confirm the network.

## Conclusion

It can be tentatively concluded that Cnut's visit to Rome in 1027 had three functions. First, as the contemporary narrative sources relate, it was a pilgrimage based on the piety of a Christian king. It may be thought that he made the most valuable pilgrimage possible as the ruler of his *imperium*, because he donated to the churches and monasteries on the way to his destination, visited many sacred institutions dedicated to various martyrs and saints of Rome and met the Roman pontiff. However, as I have also shown, it is possible to discern other functions in Cnut's visit to Rome, one of which might be an internal and international political function. Cnut, who was a Viking leader in origin, became a monarch who ruled both England and Denmark at the same time. However, it is doubtful whether Cnut was recognised as a Christian monarch throughout Christendom. Rather, he might have been regarded as a monarch of barbarians who looted the northern part of Christendom. However, Cnut, who had consolidated his position as a northern imperial leader, needed to be approved as a legitimate monarch by other rulers and churches in order to advance further negotiations. To that end, it was hoped that he would be approved by the emperor and the pope in Rome. Moreover, it can be assumed that cultivating the north-south trade route had a commercial function. As we have already seen, the Scandinavians had established commercial treaties throughout the European peninsula and had been building their own commercial networks. As the letter of 1027 suggests, Cnut was seeking to establish safety on the route from the North Sea to Italy. This was for the purpose of his expansion of the Scandinavian commercial network from which he stood to gain.

## Notes

- 1 *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. and trans. by R. R. Darlington, P. McGurk and Jennifer Bray, vol. I (Oxford, 1995), p. 493.
- 2 Concerning the historiography of the Jelling dynasty, see Thorkild Ramskou, *Normannertiden 600–1060* (Copenhagen, 1962); Aksel E. Christensen, *Vikingetidens Danmark paa oldhistorisk baggrund* (Copenhagen, 1969), pp. 223–41; Peter H. Sawyer, *Da Danmark blev Danmark. 700–1050* (Copenhagen, 1988); Inge Skovgaard-Petersen, ‘The Making of the Danish Kingdom’, in *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia, I: Prehistory to 1520*, ed. by Kunt Helle (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 168–83. For a perspective on the rich archaeological data, see Else Roesdahl, ‘Denmark – A Thousand Years Ago’, in *Europe around the Year 1000*, ed. by Przemyslaw Urbanczyk (Warsaw, 2001), pp. 351–66; idem, ‘The Emergence of Denmark and the Reign of Harald Bluetooth’, in *The Viking World*, ed. by Stefan Brink (London, 2008), pp. 652–64. For an example in a European perspective, see Niels Hybel, *Danmark in Europe 750–1300* (Copenhagen, 2003). Cf. Birgit Sawyer and Peter H. Sawyer, ‘A Gormless History? The Jelling Dynasty Revisited’, in *Runica – Germanica – Medievalia*, ed. by Wilhelm Heizmann and Astrid van Nahl (Berlin, 2003), pp. 689–706.
- 3 *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, p. 503.
- 4 See Minoru Ozawa, ‘Cnut for Danelaw, Cnut against Swein: Two Aspects on the Process of Cnut’s Conquest of England’, *The Round Table*, 22 (2008), 60–71.
- 5 M. K. Lawson, *Cnut: The Danes in England in the Early Eleventh Century* (London, 1993); *The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. by Alexander Rumble (London, 1994); Niels Lund, *De hærger og de brænder: Danmark og England i vikingetiden*, 2nd edn (Copenhagen, 1997); idem, ‘Cnut the Great and His Empire’, in *The Viking World*, ed. by Brink, pp. 665–67; Timothy Bolton, *The Empire of Cnut the Great: Conquest and the Consolidation of Power in Northern Europe in the Early Eleventh Century* (Leiden, 2009); idem, *Cnut the Great* (New Haven, CT, 2017).
- 6 Recently, some new books have shed fresh light on the politics and government of Cnut: *Conquests in Eleventh-Century England: 1016, 1066*, ed. by Laura Ashe and Emily Joan Ward (Woodbridge, 2020); *Anglo-Danish Empire: A Companion to the Reign of King Cnut the Great*, ed. by Richard North, Erin Goeres, and Alison Finley (Berlin, 2022).
- 7 Bolton, *The Empire of Cnut the Great*, chapter 5.
- 8 *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. and trans. by Alistair Campbell (Cambridge, 1998), p. 19: ‘Cum autem rex Cnuto solum in primis Danorum optineret regimen, quinque regnorum, scilicet Danomarchiae, Angliae, Britanniae, Scotiae, Norduvegae vendicato dominio, imperator extitit’.
- 9 *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, p. 513: ‘Canutus, rex totius Angliae et Dene-marciae et Norreganorum et partis Suanorum’.
- 10 Laurence M. Larson, *Canute the Great, 995–1035, and the Rise of Danish Imperialism during the Viking Age* (London 1912).
- 11 Wipo of Burgundy, ‘Gesta Chuonradi II, Imperatoris’, in *Quellen des 9. und 11. Jahrhunderts zur Geschichte der hamburgischen Kirche und des Reiches*, ed. by Werner Trillmich (Darmstadt, 1978), p. 570: ‘His ita peractis in duorum regum praesentia, Ruodolfi regis Burgundiae et Chnutonis regis Anglorum, divino officio finite imperator duorum regum medius ad cubiculum suum honorifice ductus est’. See Bolton, *The Empire of Cnut the Great*, chapter 10.
- 12 See R. Deshman, ‘Kingship and Christology in Ottonian and Anglo-Saxon Art’, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 10 (1976), 367–405.
- 13 Pauline Stafford, *After Alfred: Anglo-Saxon Chronicles and Chroniclers, 900–1150* (Oxford, 2020); Simon Keynes, ‘Manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon

Chronicle', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, I: c. 400–1100*, ed. by Richard Gameson (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 537–52; Alice Jorgensen, *Reading the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Language, Literature, History* (Turnhout, 2010).

- 14 *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, p. 503: 'Aethelnotho metropolitano et Africo Eboracensi archiepiscopo omnibusque episcopis et primatibus et toti genti Anglorum tam nobilibus quam plebeiis, salutem'.
- 15 *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, pp. 512–13: 'Notifico vobis me noviter isse Romam, oratum pro redemptione peccaminum meorum et pro salute regnorum quique meo subiacent regimini populorum'.
- 16 *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, p. 20:

Quae enim ecclesia adhuc eius non letatur donis? Sed ut sileam quae in suo regno positis egerit, huius animam cotidie benedicit Italia, bonis perfrui deposcit Gallia, et magis omnibus hanc in caelo cum Christo gaudere orat Flandria. Has enim provincias transiens Romam petiit et, ut multis liquet, tanta hoc in itinere misericordiarum opera exhibuit, ut, si quis haec describere omnia veluerit, licet innumerabilia ex his fecerit volumina, tandem deficiens fatebitur, se vix etiam cucurrisse per minima.

- 17 *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, p. 21:

Ingressus monasteria et susceptus cum magna honorificencia humaniter incedebat, et mira cum reuerentia in terram defixus lumina et ubertim fundens lacrimarum ut ita dicam flumina tota intentione sanctorum expetiit suffragia. At ubi ad hoc peruentum est, ut oblationibus regis sacra uellet cumulare altaria, o quotiens primum pauimento lacrimosa infixit oscula, quotiens precabatur ut sibi non indignaretur superna clementia! Tandem a suis ei innuenti sua porrigebatur oblatio, non mediocris, nec quae aliquo clauderetur in marsupio, sed ingens allata est palleati extento in gremio, quam ipse rex suis manibus altari imposuit, largitor hilaris monitu apostolico. "Altari" autem cur dico, cum uidisse me meminerim, eum omnes angulos monasteriorum circuisse, nullumque altare licet exiguum preterisse, cui non munera daret et dulcia oscula infigeret? Deinde adsunt pauperes, munerat etiam ipsi protinus singulatim omnes. Haec et alia his mirificentiora a domno Cnutone gesta uidi ego, uester uernula, Sancte Audomare, Sancte Bertine, cum fierent uestris in caenobiis; pro quibus bonis tantum regem impetrate uiuere in caelestibus habitaculis, ut uestri famuli canonici et monachi sunt orantes orationibus cotidianis.

- 18 Lawson, *Cnut*, pp. 150–60; T. A. Heslop, 'The Production of *de luxe* Manuscripts and the Patronage of King Cnut and Queen Emma', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 19 (1990), 151–95.
- 19 Elaine Treharne, 'The Performance of Piety: Cnut, Rome, and England', in *England and Rome in the Early Middle Ages: Pilgrimage, Art, and Politics*, ed. by Francesca Tinti (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 343–64.
- 20 Rory Naismith and Francesca Tinti, 'The Origins of Peter's Pence', *English Historical Review*, 134 (2019), 521–52.
- 21 *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I*, ed. and trans. by A. J. Robertson (Cambridge, 1925), p. 164: 'And Romefeoh be Petres mæssan'.
- 22 *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, p. 514:

Conquestus sum iterum coram domno papa, et mihi ualde displicere causabar, quod mei archiepiscopi in tantum angariabantur immensitate pecuniarum, que ab eis expetebatur, dum pro pallio accipiendo secundum morem apostolicam sedem expeterent; decretumque est ne id deinceps fiat.

- 23 For a recent assessment of Cnut's ecclesiastical policy, see Caitlin Ellis, 'Cnut's Ecclesiastical Policy in the Context of His English and Danish Predecessors', in *Anglo-Danish Empire*, ed. by North, Goeres, and Finley, pp. 355–78.
- 24 Concerning the political attitude of Wulfstan of York, see Patrick Wormald, 'Archbishop Wulfstan: Eleventh-Century State-Builder', in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. by Matthew Townend (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 9–27.
- 25 A. G. Kennedy, 'Cnut's Law Code of 1018', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 11 (1983), 57–81.
- 26 Lucie Malbos, *Harald à la Dent bleue: Viking, roi, chrétien* (Paris, 2022); Søren M. Sindbæk, 'Borgring and Harald Bluetooth's *Burgenpolitik*', in *Viking Encounters: Proceedings of the Eighteenth Viking Congress*, ed. by Anne Pedersen and Søren M. Sindbæk (Aarhus, 2020), pp. 529–43.
- 27 Minoru Ozawa, 'Why Did Swein Raise a Rune Stone in Memory of Skarde? A Contribution to the Reconstruction of the Jelling Dynasty's Commemoration Strategy', in *Entre texte et histoire: Études d'histoire médiévale offertes au professeur Shoichi Sato*, ed. by Osamu Kano and Jean-Loup Lemaître (Paris, 2015), pp. 265–73.
- 28 Thomas S. Noonan, 'When and How Dirhams First Reached Russia', *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, 21 (1980), 401–69; Roman Kovalev and Alexis Kaelin, 'Circulation of Arab Silver in Medieval Afro-Eurasia: Preliminary Observations', *History Compass*, 5 (2007), 560–80; Marek Jankowiak, 'Dirham Flows into Northern and Eastern Europe and the Rhythms of the Slave Trade with the Islamic world', in *Viking-Age Trade: Silver, Slaves and Gotland*, ed. by J. Gruszczynski, Marek Jankowiak and Jonathan Shepard (London, 2021), pp. 105–31.
- 29 As one of the most provocative discussions, see Jonathan Shepard, 'Small Worlds, the General Synopsis, and the British "Way from the Varangians to the Greeks"', in *Byzantium and the Viking World*, ed. by Fedir Androshchuk, Jonathan Shepard, and Monica White (Uppsala, 2016), pp. 3–35.
- 30 Morten Søvsø, *Ribe 700–1050: From Emporium to Civitas in Southern Scandinavia* (Højbjerg, 2020).
- 31 Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, AD 300–900* (Cambridge, 2002).
- 32 Peter Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings*, 2nd edn (London, 1975); Fedir Androshchuk, 'When and How Were Byzantine *Miliarista* Brought to Scandinavia? Constantinople and the Dissemination of Silver Coinage Outside the Empire', in *Constantinople as Center and Crossroad*, ed. by Olof Heilo and Ingela Nilsson (Istanbul, 2019), pp. 55–88.
- 33 See *The Global North: Spaces, Connections, and Networks before 1600*, ed. by Carol Symes (Leeds, 2021).
- 34 For example, *Maritime Societies of the Viking and Medieval World*, ed. by James H. Barrett and Sarah Jane Gibson (Leeds, 2015); Lucie Malbos, *Les ports des mers nordiques à l'époque viking (VIIe–Xe siècle)* (Turnhout, 2017); Christian Cooijmans, *Monarchs and Hydrarchs: The Conceptual Development of Viking Activity across the Frankish Realm (c. 750–940)* (London, 2020).
- 35 See the recent general survey of the Vikings: Neil Price, *Children of Ash and Elm: A History of the Vikings* (London, 2020); Søbjørg Walaker Nordeide and Kevin J. Edwards, *The Vikings* (Leeds, 2019); Pierre Bauduin, *Histoire des Vikings* (Paris, 2019); Judith Jesch, *The Viking Diaspora* (London, 2015).
- 36 *Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte*, ed. by R. Rau, vol. III (Berlin, 1960), p. 88: 'Venerunt quoque illuc Sigifridi Danorum regis legati pacis faciendae gratia in terminis inter illos et Saxones positis et ut negotiatorum utriusque regni invicem transeuntes et mericionia deferentes emerent et venderent pacifice';

English translation from *The Annals of Fulda: Ninth-Century Histories*, ed. by Timothy Reuter (Manchester, 1992), p. 69.

- 37 *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Felix Lieberman, vol. I (Halle, 1903), p. 128:

ealle we cwædon on ða dæge ðe mon ða aðas swor, þæt ne ðeowe ne freo ne moton in ðone here faran butan leafe, ne heora nan ðe ma to us. Gif ðonne gebyrige, þæt for neode heora hwylc wið ure bige habban wille oððe we wið heora mid yrfe 7 mid æhtum, ðæt is to ðafianne on ða wisan, þæt man gislas sylle friðe to wedde 7 to swutulunge, þæt man wite, ðæt man eigene bæc hæbbe.

English translation from *English Historical Documents, c. 500–1042*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock (London, 1979), p. 418.

- 38 For a general history of Rus', see Jonathan Shepard, 'The Origins of Rus', in *The Cambridge History of Russia, Volume 1: From Early Rus' to 1689*, ed. by Maureen Perrie (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 47–72.
- 39 Roland Scheel, *Skandinavien und Byzanz: Bedingungen und Konsequenzen mittelalterlicher Kulturbeziehungen*, 2 vols (Frankfurt am Main, 2015).
- 40 *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, ed. and trans. by S. H. Cross and O. P. Sherbowwytz-Wetzor (Cambridge, MA, 1953), p. 64.
- 41 *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, pp. 65–69.
- 42 *Ibid.*, pp. 73–77.
- 43 *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni*, ed. and trans. by Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, 2 vols (Oxford, 1992–95), I: 16–18:

Quem cum dux aliquanta mora regaliter tractaret, dum et ipse et milites, tantum post nauigii laborem, recrearentur, pacem inter se firmauerunt continuam, ea uidelicet lege ut per succedentia Danorum regum Normannorumque ducum ac eorum heredum tempora firma perpetualiter inter eos maneret, et que Dani abstulissent inimicis, emenda conferrent Normannis. Si quis uero Danorum inualidus aut uulneratus amicorum indigeret iuuamine, apud Normannos quasi in domo propria sub securitate sanaretur. Que lex ut rata maneret, ab utraque parte sacramentorum tenore illam sanxerunt eorum principes. Quibus rex ad uotum expletis, muneratus cum dignis a duce muneribus, quamtotius ad suos letus regressitur.

- 44 Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, 'The Political Relations between Normandy and England before 1066 According to the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*', in *Les mutations socio-culturelles au tournant des 11<sup>e</sup>–12<sup>e</sup> siècles: Actes du 4<sup>e</sup> colloque internationale Anselmien*, ed. by R. Foreville (Paris, 1984), pp. 85–97; Pierre Bauduin, 'Quasi in domo propria sub securitate sanaretur: A Peace Agreement between King Swein Forkbeard and Duke Richard II of Normandy', *Early Medieval Europe*, 29 (2021), 394–416.
- 45 L. W. Breese, 'The Persistence of Scandinavian Connections in Normandy in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', *Viator*, 7 (1977), 47–61; Lesley Abrams, 'England, Normandy and Scandinavia', in *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman world*, ed. by C. Harper-Bill and Elisabeth van Houts (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 41–62.
- 46 Lucien Musset, 'Rouen et l'Angleterre vers l'an mil: Du nouveau sur le satiriste Garnier et l'école littéraire de Rouen au temps de Richard II', *Annales de Normandie*, 24 (1974), 287–90; idem, 'Rouen au temps des Francs et sous les ducs', in *Histoire de Rouen*, ed. by Michel Mollat (Toulouse, 1979), pp. 31–74.
- 47 For a general introduction to the history of the dukes of Normandy, see Johannes Steenstrup, *Normandiets historie under de syv første hertuger, 911–1066* (Copenhagen, 1925); David Bates, *Normandy before 1066* (London, 1982); François Neveux, *La Normandie des ducs aux rois X<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Rennes, 1998).

48 *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, p. 514:

Locutus sum igitur cum ipso imperatore et domno papa et principibus, qui ibi erant, de necessitatibus totius populi uniuersi regni mei, tam Anglorum quam Danorum, ut eis concederetur lex equior et pax securior in uia Romam adeundi, et ne tot clausuris per uiam artentur, et propter thelon iniustum fatigentur; annuitque postulatis imperator, et Rodbertus rex qui maxime ipsarum clausurarum dominatur, cunctique principes edictisque firmauerunt, ut homines mei, tam mercatores quam alii orandi causa uiatores, absque omni angaria clausurarum et theloneariorum, firmaque pace et iusta lege securi, Romam eant et redeant.

# 9 Papal Contact with the Mongols

## Means of Communication in the Thirteenth Century

*Mamoru Fujisaki*

### The Mid-Thirteenth-Century Papacy and Catholic Identity

In the Middle Ages, Europeans in the Latin West partially formed their Christian or Catholic identity through encounters with ‘others’, particularly with non-Catholic Christians and people they called ‘infidels’. Classifications of such ‘others’ can be found in a variety of contemporary sources.<sup>1</sup> The literary tradition of listing and describing the various Eastern peoples of the Holy Land according to their religious affiliations, customs, clothing, appearances, and ethnic characteristics began with the anonymous treatise *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre Ierosolimitane*, which was written in the last quarter of the twelfth century.<sup>2</sup> The non-Catholic Christian peoples listed in this work are the Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, Georgians, Jacobites, and Nestorians, and the non-Christian peoples listed as ‘infidels’, are the Jews, Samaritans, Assassins, and Bedouins.<sup>3</sup>

For the medieval papacy, the peoples included within this category of ‘others’ changed in accordance with shifts in their own religious or political situation. In the middle of the thirteenth century, the papacy faced many difficulties, and these difficulties revealed the papacy’s perception of its ‘self’ and the ‘others’. One of the most important tools for medieval Europeans to understand ‘others’ was language, and, as will be demonstrated below, inadequacies of foreign languages led to their misconceptions about ‘others’.

In the thirteenth century, because of the growing threat Europe was facing from Islam and the Mongols, the popes had an increasing number of opportunities to hear and speak about the Eastern peoples. How did these popes, who regarded themselves as the leaders of Christianity, perceive the Eastern Christians and the Eastern or Asian world? Pope Honorius III (1216–27) declared that not only the Greeks but also the Syrians and Armenians in the East could all bear witness for the Latins, while the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX (1227–41) promulgated in 1234 dealt with the Muslims, Jews, and schismatics separately.<sup>4</sup> The Mongols are absent from these declarations because their European invasion had not yet begun. Innocent IV (1243–54), a jurist pope, was primarily interested in relationships with non-Western societies in order to further the



ongoing crusade, and he viewed such relationships from a legal standpoint. According to him, the crusade was justified by the Christian claims to the Holy Land.<sup>5</sup> For the popes, however, Eastern Christians were ‘schismatics’, who needed to be reconciled with the Roman Catholic Church.

In 1244, Innocent IV issued convocation letters for the Second Council of Lyon to all the clergy of the Church and the princes. In the letters, he referred to the four reasons for convening the council: the recuperation of the Holy Land, assistance for the Latin Empire in Constantinople, precautions against the Tartars (also known as the Mongols), and the ongoing conflict with Emperor Frederick II.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, in his opening sermon to the council (1245), he expressed the following five preoccupations: the vices of the clergy; the critical situation caused by Islamic rule in the Eastern Mediterranean World; the schism between the Latin Catholics and the Greeks and the recovery of the schismatic Greeks’ power in Constantinople; the cruelty of the Tartars and the existential threat they posed to Christendom; and the persecution of the Church by the German emperor.<sup>7</sup> For Innocent, these were the main issues that the contemporary Latin Catholic Church had to face. Thus, the Mongols (Tartars) emerged as ‘others’ for Western European Catholics. Gregory IX and Innocent IV were the first popes who confronted the Mongol threat after their invasion of Europe and the defeat of European forces at Legnica and Mohi (1241–42).<sup>8</sup>

### **Mendicant Orders as Channels of Missionary Communication**

Mendicant orders, created in the early thirteenth century and directly subject to papal authority, were important papal missionary tools, and their convents in the East were the headquarters for propagation of the religion and conversion activities in Asia. There must have been a Franciscan presence in the territories of the Golden Horde, which were also collectively known as Kipchak Khanate or the Ulus of Jochi; in 1278, the Hungarian provincial minister of the Franciscan order reported to the pope that the friars had achieved a large number of conversions among the Mongols.<sup>9</sup> By 1280, they secured permission to preach from the khan of the Golden Horde (Möngke Temür). According to a letter written by a Franciscan from the Crimean port town Kaffa in 1287, his order had convents in several Crimean towns (including Soldaia and Qirq-yer) and Sarai, the capital of the Golden Horde.<sup>10</sup> Another mendicant order, the Dominicans, reached the Golden Horde a little later and established themselves at Kaffa in or soon after 1298.<sup>11</sup> In the Ilkhanate (Persian Mongol territory founded by Hülegü), the Franciscans had a convent in the Anatolian city of Sivas in the 1270s and establishments in Salmās (a Persian city near Turkey) and Tabriz by 1284 and 1287, respectively. As for the Dominicans, their convents were still operating in Sivas and Baghdad by the time of Ricolto of Monte Crucis’ arrival in about 1288.<sup>12</sup>

It was to these mendicant friars that the popes issued frequent letters licensing missionary activities, as we will see below. After the summons of

the upcoming council, Pope Innocent IV dispatched several embassies to the Mongols, one of which was headed by John of Plano Carpini in April 1245. Two further parties, that of the Dominican Ascelin and that of the Dominican Andrew of Longjumeau, were also dispatched to the Mongols by the same pope. In the following decades, there was a more or less active exchange of envoys and letters between the West and the East. In 1278, Nicholas III (1277–80) dispatched five Franciscan missionaries headed by Gerard of Prato to the Il-khan Abaqa.<sup>13</sup> The pope entrusted them with letters for the Il-khan and the Great Khan Qubilai of the Yüan dynasty in China.<sup>14</sup> The popes thus made good use of mendicant orders with the aim of evangelising in the East.

### **Language as an Obstacle**

We are reminded of the effectiveness of the papal embassies by the final phrases of the travel report, *Itinerarium*, whose author, the Franciscan William of Rubruck, was sent in 1253 to the Great Khan by King Louis IX of France. This work is also a reminder of the importance of good interpreters for effective communication between Westerners and the Mongol Khan when it mentions the progress that would be made:<sup>15</sup>

if the Lord Pope, the head of all Christendom, were prepared to send a bishop, in some style, and to give an answer to the absurdities they [i.e. the Tartars] have written on three occasions to the Franks.<sup>16</sup>

Rubruck was not, in fact, content with his interpreter – whom he called ‘homo Dei *turghemanus*’ (i.e., interpreter Abd-ullah) – and felt that there was a risk of misunderstanding, sometimes complaining about his inadequacy:

I was especially vexed by the fact that whenever I wanted to do some preaching to them my interpreter would say, ‘Do not make me preach, since I do not know how to express these things.’ He was right. Later, when I acquired some little knowledge of the language, I noticed that when I said one thing he would say something totally different, depending on what came into his head. After that I realised the danger of speaking through him, and chose rather to say nothing.<sup>17</sup> [...] I was unable to do anything else, since to speak in doctrinal terms through an interpreter like this was a great risk — in fact, an impossibility, as he was ignorant of them.<sup>18</sup>

As mentioned above, the Dominicans were engaged in the learning of new languages, Arabic in particular, in their convents in the Holy Land. In a letter to Pope Gregory IX in 1237, the Dominican provincial in the Holy Land, Philip, reported that they had set up a language study centre in each convent and were promoting the study and practice of new languages.<sup>19</sup> However,

most Europeans' training in foreign languages was not necessarily sufficient; in a letter to Pope Innocent IV in 1245, Ayyubid Sultan al-Mansur pointed out the Dominicans' linguistic inadequacy while discussing religious matters. According to him, they were accustomed to holding discussions in Latin or French, not Arabic.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, there must have been a certain number of multilingual friars. Andrew of Longjumeau, a Dominican, was one such friar who was sent to the East by Pope Innocent IV and who later accompanied King Louis IX of France to Cyprus. He seemed to have learned not only Arabic but also Persian (or Syriac).<sup>21</sup> He could, therefore, translate a letter sent by Eljigidei, the Mongol governor appointed by the Great Khan Güyük, to Louis IX who was in Nicosia. Eljigidei was stationed in the province of Tabriz at that time. The letter, which Eljigidei's envoys delivered, was written in Persian using Arabic letters, and the king made Andrew translate it word-for-word.<sup>22</sup>

One of the elements of the culture of Eastern peoples which interested some authors of treatises was their spoken language and written script. For the author of the *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre Ierosolimitane*, the languages and scripts people used were an important criterion for classifying various peoples. According to him, the Greeks, Armenians, Georgians, and Jews used proper scripts; the Jacobites and Nestorians used Chaldean script; Syrians used Arabic script for secular matters and the script of the Greeks for spiritual ones; the Samaritans used the Arabic language; the Assassins used a mixed alphabet of Chaldean and Hebrew letters; and the Bedouins used a corrupt Arabic script.<sup>23</sup>

On 15 February 1235, Pope Gregory IX granted a licence in the letter *Cum hora undecima* to the Dominican Friar William of Montferrat, papal missionary to the Nestorians, and his companions to preach, to baptise, to hear confessions, to give penance, to give absolution, to dispense canonical irregulars, to reconcile to Roman Church those who had separated from the unity of the faith, and to bless vestments in lands that were not yet under papal authority.<sup>24</sup> The beginning of the letter reads:

Now that the eleventh hour has come in the day given to mankind (Matthew 20.6) [...] it is necessary for spiritual men, who received the purity of life and the gift of intelligence with John [the Baptist], to prophesy again to many peoples and nations, many tongues, and kings because the salvation of the remnant of Israel prophesied by Isaiah (Isaiah 10.20–21) will not occur until, as St. Paul says (Romans 11.25–26), the fullness of the gentiles enters first [into salvation].<sup>25</sup>

In this case, the Mongols were not supposed to be treated as a people to be converted.

In 1239, Gregory IX reissued a *Cum hora* letter to the Franciscans who were setting forth for the lands of the Muslims, pagans, Greeks, Bulgarians, Cumans, and other 'infidels'.<sup>26</sup> Thereafter, Gregory's successors made

good use of the *Cum hora* letters with the purpose of uniting the Eastern Churches with the Roman Catholic Church and converting the 'infidels' in Eastern lands in order to emphasise that the Dominicans and Franciscans were papal missionaries.

Innocent IV reissued the letter in 1245, listing the Muslims, pagans, Greeks, Bulgarians, Cumans, Ethiopians, Syrians, Iberians, Alans, Khazars, Goths, Zichians, Ruthenians, Jacobites, Nubians, Nestorians, Georgians, Armenians, Indians, Mesolitans, and other 'infidels' as peoples to whom the friars should preach.<sup>27</sup> After that, the letters began to mention the Mongols as one of the peoples to be preached to by the friars and continued to do so until 1307, when Pope Clement V (1305–14) established a Mongol Catholic Church.<sup>28</sup> With the *Cum hora* letters, the popes encouraged the efforts of the Dominicans and Franciscans to learn Eastern languages. But what was the situation with Eastern languages at the papal curia?

When John of Plano Carpini and his companions arrived at the camp of Batu, grandson of Genghis Khan and *de facto* founder of the Golden Horde, on the Volga, the papal letters were translated into Ruthenian, Persian, and Mongolian.<sup>29</sup> After that, when they met the Great Khan Güyüg in 1246 or 1247, they were asked whether there was any person at the Roman curia who could read the Russian, Arabic, and Tartar (Mongolian in Uyghur letters) texts. They replied that no one could read any of these languages and that there were only a few Muslims in their land, who lived far from the papal court. Thus, there were no interpreters or translators of the Mongolian language at the papal curia, while in or near the court of the Great Khan at Qara-Qorum there were several interpreters and translators who were familiar with various languages. These included Cingai, the Nestorian notary of the Great Khan; Temer, a knight of the Grand Prince of Vladimir (Yaroslav II); Ruthenians and Hungarians who knew Latin and French; and other European people who had lived for many years among the Tartars.<sup>30</sup>

Even two decades later, the linguistic situation at the papal curia had not improved. When Pope Clement IV (1265–68) received a letter in Mongolian from Il-khan Abaqa in 1266 or 1267, there was still no one at the curia who could read it.<sup>31</sup> This difficult situation regarding the translation of letters written in Eastern languages would have been common at that time, not only at the Roman curia but also in other Western secular courts except that of the kingdom of Sicily in the Norman and Hohenstaufen times.<sup>32</sup> Thus, if we are to believe the account of Roger Bacon, King Louis IX (1226–70) of France could not find anyone in the university of Paris or even in the whole kingdom who was able to translate a letter in Arabic from the Sultan of Egypt.<sup>33</sup> At the court of Abaqa, on the contrary, there was a Latin scribe (*scriba noster Latinus*), who was engaged in translating Mongolian into Latin. It was therefore an exceptional circumstance when, in 1268, Abaqa sent to Clement IV a Mongolian letter that had not been translated into Latin because of the

absence of the scribe, and he took the trouble to offer an excuse for the lack of a translation.<sup>34</sup>

In 1274, Abaqa sent an embassy to Pope Gregory X (1271–76) and another one to King Edward I of England. The envoys from Ilkhanate, including the notary and interpreter Ricardus and the Dominican Friar David of Ashby, appeared at the Second Council of Lyon.<sup>35</sup> The latter had once been sent to the first Il-khan Hülegü on behalf of the king of Jerusalem and Cyprus and stayed for many years among the Mongols. In Lyon Abaqa expressed through his spokesman Ricardus his intention to protect the Christians, following the will of his father Hülegü, and communicated his wish, and that of his late father, to form an alliance with the Franks. The notary and interpreter Ricardus was very likely the above-mentioned scribe of Abaqa.<sup>36</sup> Other than Ricardus, several other Europeans played an important role in the diplomacy of the Il-khans, serving as envoys or as guards. Most of these Europeans were Italians who were probably merchants: the Genoese, Tommaso *Banchrinus* ('the Banker') de Anfossi and Buscarello de Ghisolfi; the Sienese, Tommaso Ugi; and the Pisan, Isolo da Anastasio.<sup>37</sup> It is notable that European intermediaries between the West and the East were not limited to mendicant friars.

While mendicant friars devoted themselves to teaching and being trained in language skills, the papacy was also concerned with language education for the purpose of proselytism. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Pope Clement V accepted the proposition of Raymond Lull, who had advocated the foundation of centres of education for Eastern languages in his *Petitio Raymundi in concilio generali ad acquirendam Terram Sanctam* (1311).<sup>38</sup> In the decree *Inter sollicitudines* of the Council of Vienne (1312), the pope expressed his desire for many Catholic people to have competence in the languages of the 'infidels' for the purpose of evangelisation, just as Christ wished for the apostles to be educated in languages and evangelise all over the world.<sup>39</sup> In the same decree, the pope sanctioned the creation of language schools in the *studium curiale*, that is, the university of the papal curia, as well as in the universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca. It was decided that this was where the experts who had mastered at least two such Eastern languages – Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldean (here, the word was probably used to denote Aramaic written in Syriac script), all of which were necessary for the defence of the Catholic faith against 'infidels' – would teach languages and translate books from those languages into Latin.<sup>40</sup> It is clear that this decree aimed to train missionaries to communicate smoothly with speakers of Eastern languages, but the effectiveness of this provision in the early period is not clear. However, as early as 1317, we can find the Franciscan Conrad, *vir in diversis scientiis et linguis peritus* and Latin Archbishop of Ephesus from 1318, and his successor Boniface (for the latter from 1318 to 1328) as *magister linguarum*, to whom the payments were made.<sup>41</sup> In addition, two envoys of the king of Armenia taught their language at the papal curia from 1321 to 1323.<sup>42</sup>

## **Distortion of Information and Misunderstandings**

Rumours and distorted information sometimes produce historical dynamism. During the Middle Ages, information was often transmitted between the Western world and Asia in a garbled or exaggerated way. Information concerning the Mongols, whether real or false, created not only fear of an imminent Mongol invasion of Europe but also legends about Mongol conversions to Christianity. From the late 1240s onwards, rumours began to spread within Western Europe that the Mongols believed in one God, that individual Mongol princes were Christians or harboured Christian sympathies, and that large numbers of Christians lived under Mongol rule. The Mongol empire dissolved into rival khanates after 1261–62, one of which was the Ilkhanate in Persia. The Il-khans were eager to obtain Western collaboration in their conflict with the Mamluk Sultanate, and such an attitude seemed to heighten the possibility that they would embrace the Christian faith.

At the Great Khan Güyüg's encampment, Plano Carpini had heard distorted reports about the Chinese Buddhists in the East: pagans who were said to possess an Old and a New Testament, church-like buildings, and even native saints. These 'pagans' allegedly worshipped one God, honoured Jesus Christ, loved Christians, and believed in eternal life; they lacked only baptism.<sup>43</sup> In fact, the populations of Central and Eastern Asia did include Christian communities – Jacobite, Nestorian, Greek Orthodox, and Armenian.<sup>44</sup> The Christians of Güyüg's entourage told Plano Carpini that the Great Khan was about to become a Christian, based on the fact that he maintained Christian clerics and kept a portable chapel in front of his pavilion, in contrast with the other Mongol princes.<sup>45</sup> Andrew of Longjumeau reported that Güyüg's mother was a Christian – allegedly a daughter of Prester John.<sup>46</sup> However, the missionaries were not motivated by the possible truth of the rumours that the Mongol princes were Christians.

The prevalence of this belief about Christians in Mongol territories is apparent in a 1248 letter written by Smbat, an Armenian constable sent to the court of Güyüg as a representative of his brother, the Armenian king. The letter, which was finally passed on to Pope Innocent IV, claimed that there were large numbers of Christians in the empire – a claim supported by the honour accorded to the Three Magi in these territories. Smbat mentioned, like Plano Carpini, the chapels situated in front of the Great Khan's court. He also claimed that the Great Khan himself and all his people had become Christians.<sup>47</sup> There was clearly a distortion of information about Christianisation in the Mongol world.

In a letter from Nicholas III to Il-khan Abaqa (1278), which was entrusted to the Franciscan Gerard and his colleagues, the pope responded favourably to Abaqa's report that the Great Khan Qubilai, who had been allegedly baptised, wanted him to dispatch a mission of the Roman Church.<sup>48</sup> Was the reference to the fabrication about Qubilai's baptism in the letter a result

of an unintentional self-serving selection of facts, an intentional misreading, or an unintentional misunderstanding?

In this chapter, I have focused on the thirteenth-century papacy in order to investigate contemporary Roman Catholic missionary activities in the East. There remain several topics to be treated more precisely: the two-sided attitude of the Mongol rulers towards Christianity – that of the Great Khan Möngke and his mother, Nestorian Sorqaqtani, or that of the Il-khans, Ghazan and Öljeitü, whose religious policies lacked consistency. Consider, too, the rapid changes in the friars' roles: from diplomatic to missionary. In conclusion, the self-identification of the medieval Western Europeans, and the papacy above all, as 'Latin Christendom', was formed through their encounters with 'others', especially with the non-Catholic Eastern peoples. The Mongol hegemony over Eastern lands and information about the presence of a variety of Christians in their territories drew members of the newly-founded mendicant orders, such as the Franciscans and Dominicans, into Asia in the hope of converting the Mongols and their subjects. The popes, on their part, made use of these orders. However, there must have been a gap of understanding between the Catholic missions of the popes and the indigenous peoples. For the popes, their concern was primarily conversion of the 'infidels', while for the Mongol rulers, Christianity or the Catholic faith was one of many religions that they permitted to exist within the empire and the khanates. There were also obstacles to the communication between these different cultures, in particular the problem of languages. In spite of these difficulties, however, the spirit of proselytism did not cease.

## Notes

- 1 Anna-Dorothea von den Brincken, *Die "nationes Christianorum orientaliū" im Verständnis der lateinischen Historiographie. Von der Mitte des 12. bis in die zweite Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne, 1973).
- 2 Andrew Jotischky, 'The Mendicants as Missionaries and Travellers in the Near East in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', in *Eastward Bound: Travel and Travellers, 1050–1500*, ed. by Rosamund Allen (Manchester, 2004), pp. 88–106 (p. 97).
- 3 Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'The *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre Ierosolimitane*,' in *The Crusades and Their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. by John France and William G. Zajac (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 111–33: 'De Francis; De Grecis; De Surianis; De Armeniis; De Georgianis; De Jacobitis; De Nestorianis; [...] De Judeis; De Samaritanis; De Assessinis; De Bedewinis'.
- 4 *Acta Honorii III (1216–1227) et Gregorii IX (1227–1241)*, ed. by Aloysius L. Tăutu, Pontificia Commissio ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis, Fontes, ser. 3 (Vatican City, 1950), vol. 3, no. 80, p. 109: 'ut non tantum Graecos, sed Surianos et Armenos et generaliter fideles omnes ad testificandum idoneos pro vobis et ecclesia vestra in testimonium inducer valeatis'. See also *ibid.*, no. 102, p. 139; Decretal. Greg. IX, V, 6–8, in *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. by Emil Friedberg, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1879–81), II: 771–90: 'De Judaeis, Sarracenis, et eorum servis; De haereticis; De schismaticis et ordinatis ab eis'. Cf. Jotischky, p. 97.
- 5 James Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers and Infidels: The Church and the Non-Christian World 1250–1550* (Philadelphia, PA, 1979), pp. 6–7.

- 6 *Vita Innocentii IV*, in F. Pagnotti, 'Niccolò da Calvi e la sua Vita d'Innocenzo IV. Con una breve introduzione sulla istoriografia pontificia nei secoli XIII e XIV', *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria*, 21 (1898), 76–120 (§ 18); *Epistolae saeculi XIII e regestis pontificum romanorum selectae*, ed. by Karl Rodenberg, *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Epistolae*, 3 vols, (Berlin, 1883–94), II: no. 78, p. 57; *Regesta pontificum romanorum inde ab a. post Christum natum MCXCVIII ad a. MCCCIV*, ed. by August Potthast, 2 vols (Berlin, 1874–75), no. 11493.
- 7 *Relatio de concilio Lugdunensi*, ed. by Ludwig Weiland, *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Leg. IV Const. II* (Hannover, 1896), no. 401, pp. 513–16, here p. 514:

Quibus peractis incepit predicare de auctoritate prophete 'Secundum multitudinem dolorum meorum in corde meo consolationes tue letificaverunt animam meam', incipiens, quod multiplex erat dolor suus, quia V dolores circumdederunt eum. Primus erat de deformitate prelatorum et subditorum, secundus de insolentia Sarracenorum, tertius de scismate Graecorum, quartus de sevitia Tartarorum, quintus de persecutione Frederici imperatoris. Rediens ad primum articulum de deformitate prelatorum et subditorum, quia non erant tales quales consueverant et debebant esse, et de eorum excessibus multa dixit. Postmodum de insolentia Sarracenorum, referens rumores de hiis que tunc acciderant ultra mare, quomodo Ierusalem occupaverant et ecerterant sepulcrum Domini et cetera sacra loca de partibus illis et Christianos interfecerant infinitos et quecumque ibi per eos fuerant perpetrata. Tertio de scismate Grecorum, quomodo Vatacius imperator Grecorum cum Grecis scismaticis occupaverant et destruxerant terram Christianorum intraverant et Ungariam occupaverant non parcentes sexui vel etati, quin omnes interficerent. Quinto de persecutione dicti imperatoris, quomodo persequebatur ecclesiam, et suum predecessorem Gregorium fuerat persecutus, et in litteris, quas predictus imperator mittebat per mundum, referebat publice, quod non persequebatur ecclesiam sed papam; quod verum non fuerat, prout manifestissime apparebat, quod in vacatione ecclesie eam persequi non cessavit, immo tunc clerum et ecclesiam magis afflixit.

- 8 For more information on the planned crusade against the Mongols, see Peter Jackson, 'The Crusade against the Mongols (1241)', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 42 (1991), 1–18.
- 9 A papal letter informs us of the provincial minister's report. See *Acta Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio V ad Benedictum XI (1276–1304)*, ed. by Ferdinandus M. Delorme and Aloysius L. Tăutu, *Pontificia Commissio ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis, Fontes*, ser. 3, vol. 5, tome 2 (Vatican City, 1954), no. 27, pp. 59–60: 'minister provincialis Fratrum Ordinis Minorum regni Ungariae Nobis significare curavit, quod plures fratres eiusdem Ordinis inter Tartaros commorantur, qui fidem Christi gratiosis studiis annuntiantes eisdem, multos ex eis ad fidem ipsam, divina cooperante gratia, converterunt'.
- 10 Jean Richard, *La papauté et les missions d'Orient au moyen âge (XIII<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Rome, 1977), pp. 89–90. The letter is in Oswald Redlich, *Eine Wiener Briefsammlung zur Geschichte des deutschen Reiches und der österreichischen Länder in der zweiten Hälfte des XIII. Jahrhunderts, Mittheilungen aus dem vaticanischen Archiv*, 2 (Vienna, 1986), no. 250, pp. 248–50 and in Girolamo Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano*, 5 vols (Quaracchi–Firenze, 1906–27), II: 444–45.
- 11 Richard, *La papauté*, pp. 95, 130.
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 115.
- 13 MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ott. lat. 2516, fol. 185<sup>v</sup>: 'Item sunt de bestiis marestalle nygre apud fratrem Gerardum et socios de ordine Minorum, qui vadunt ultra mare contra Tartaris, XI videlicet IIII roncini et



- VII muli et mule'. Cf. Pierluigi Galletti, *Memorie di tre antiche chiese di Rieti denominate S. Michele Arcangelo al ponte, Sant' Agata alla rocca, e San Giacomo* (Rome, 1765), p. 183 and Friedrich Baethgen, 'Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Hof- und Finanzverwaltung unter Bonifaz VIII.', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 20 (1928–29), 114–237, (p. 206). Baethgen reads the original phrase 'c̄ Tartaris' as *cum Tartaris*, but seeing the manuscript, I read it as 'contra Tartaris' as in Galletti.
- 14 Karl-Ernst Lupprian, *Die Beziehungen der Päpste zu islamischen und mongolischen Herrschern im 13. Jahrhundert anhand ihres Briefwechsels*, Studi e testi, 291 (Vatican City, 1981), nos 46, 47, pp. 233–41. See also Thomas Tanase, 'Une lettre en latin inédite de l'Ilkhan Abaqa au pape Nicolas III: croisade ou mission?', in *Les relations diplomatiques entre le monde musulman et l'Occident latin (XII<sup>e</sup>–XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, ed. by Denise Aigle and Pascal Buresi (Rome, 2008), pp. 333–47; Mamoru Fujisaki, 'A Franciscan Mission by Pope Nicholas III to Il-khan Abaqa', in *Religious Interactions in Europe and the Mediterranean World: Coexistence and Dialogue from the 12th to the 20th Centuries*, ed. by Katsumi Fukasawa, Benjamin J. Kaplan and Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire (London, 2017), pp. 199–208.
- 15 For the study and education of Eastern languages in Europe and in the East by Europeans in the Middle Ages, see Bertold Altaner, *Die Dominikanermissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts. Forschungen zur Geschichte der kirchlichen Unionen und der Mohammedaner- und Heidenmission des Mittelalters* (Breslau, 1934); idem, 'Die Durchführung des Wiener Konzilsbeschlusses über die Errichtung von Lehrstühlen für orientalische Sprachen', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 52 (1933), 223–36; idem, 'Raymundus Lullus und der Sprachenkanon (can. 11) des Konzils von Vienne (1312)', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 53 (1933), 190–219; idem, 'Sprachkenntnisse und Dolmetscherwesen im missionarischen und diplomatischen Verkehr zwischen Abendland (päpstliche Kurie) und Orient im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 55 (1936), 83–126; idem, 'Zur Kenntnis des Arabischen im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 2 (1936), 437–52; André Berthier, 'Les Écoles de langues orientales fondées au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle par les dominicains en Espagne et en Afrique', *Revue africaine*, 73 (1932), 84–103; Jean Richard, 'L'enseignement des langues orientales en Occident au Moyen Âge', *Revue des études islamiques*, 44 (1976), 149–64.
- 16 William of Rubruck, 'Itinerarium', in *Sinica Franciscana*, ed. by Anastasius Van den Wyngaert, I, *Itinera et relationes Fratrum Minorum saeculi XIII et XIV* (Quaracchi–Firenze, 1929), epilogue 5, pp. 331–32:

si dominus Papa, qui est capud omnium christianorum, vellet mittere honorifice unum Episcopum, et respondere stulticiis eorum, quas ipsi [i.e. Tartari] ter scripserunt Francis [...] ille posset illis dicere quecumque vellet et eciam facere quod ipsi redigerent in scriptis [...] sed oporteret quod haberet bonum interpretem, immo plures interpretes et copiosas expensas.

English translation is a citation from *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255*, ed. by Peter Jackson and David Morgan, Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, 173 (London, 1990), p. 278.

- 17 Rubruck, 'Itinerarium', ed. by Van den Wyngaert, p. 196:

Super omnia autem gravabat me quod, volebam eis dicere aliquod verbum edificationis, interpres meus dicebat: 'Non faciatis me predicare, quia nescio talia verba dicere'. Et verum dicebat. Ego enim percepi postea, quando incepti aliquantulum intelligere idioma, quod quando dicebam unum, ipse totum aliud dicebat secundum quod ei occurebat. Tunc videns periculum loquendi per ipsum, elegi magis tacere.

Translation by Jackson and Morgan, p. 108. The name of the interpreter is mentioned in Rubruck, 'Itinerarium', ed. by Van den Wyngaert, p. 170.

- 18 Rubruck, 'Itinerarium', ed. by Van den Wyngaert, p. 240: 'Et semper cum vellem docere, deficiebat michi interpret. [...] Aliud non poteram facere, quia loqui verba doctrine per interpretem talem erat magnum periculum immo impossibile, quia ipse nesciebat'. Translation by Jackson and Morgan, p. 167.
- 19 Matthew Paris, 'Chronica majora', in *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica majora*, ed. by Henry Richards Luard, 7 vols (London, 1872–83), III: 398:

Unde videntes ostium tantum apertum, ut veritas evangelii dilatetur, dedimus nosmetipsos ad linguas gentium addiscendas; et studium linguarum in singulis conventibus statuimus, laborem novum veteri apponentes. Et jam per Dei gratiam linguis loquuntur novis et praedicant, et maxime in Arabica, quae communior est inter gentes.

- 20 Lupprian, no. 24, pp. 162–63:

Sed desideramus, ut possemus, insimul convenire et ore ad os disputare et colloqui de rebus divinis de prope quasi certamine manuali. Sed quoniam hoc fuit impossibile, volumus hoc agree cum illis, quos miserat de fratribus Predicatoribus; sed non erat eis in terris nostris omnino securum de lege vestra et nostra in presentia nostrorum sapientum disputare. Et manifestum est, quod hoc erat ob impedimentum lingue arabice et propter incessum per viam humilitatis ordinis monachatus, et quia nisi in lingua latina sive gallica disputandi consuetudinem non habeant. Signa enim virtutis in eis relucebant, et insignia scientie ex eorum vultibus manifeste apparebant, et vestigia contemptus mundi et religionis in eis erant manifesta et mores eorum laudabiles et docori.

- 21 Matthew Paris, 'Chronica majora', ed. by Luard, VI: 115: 'Novit etiam linguam Arabicam et Caldeam'. The term *lingua caldea* can mean here Persian or Syriac. See Altaner, 'Sprachkenntnisse und Dolmetscherwesen', p. 441.
- 22 Letter to Pope Innocent IV from Cardinal Odo of Chateauroux, in *Spicilegium sive collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis delituerant*, ed. by Luc D'Achery, 3 vols (Paris, 1723), III: 624–28, here p. 625: 'Die vero crastina se Regi praesentaverunt, et ei hujusmodi litteras porrexerunt scriptas lingua Persica et litteris Arabicis, quas Rex interpretari fecit de verbo ad verbum'. See Denise Aigle, 'The Letters of Eljigidei, Hülegü and Abaqa: Mongol Overtures or Christian Ventriloquism?', *Inner Asia*, 7 (2005), 143–62 (p. 146).
- 23 See the corresponding parts of each people in the text edited by Kedar.
- 24 For the *Cum hora* letters, see Muldoon, pp. 36 ff.; Felicitas Schmieder, 'Cum hora undecima: The Incorporation of Asia into the *orbis Christianus*', in *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*, ed. by Guyda Armstrong and Ian N. Wood (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 259–65.
- 25 *Acta Honorii III*, ed. by Tautu, no. 210, pp. 286–87:

Cum hora undecima sit diei hominibus, ut exeant ad opus usque ad mundi vesperam deputati et illud Apocalypsis eulogium cito credatur cum matris Ecclesiae consolatione complendum, videlicet oportere viros spiritualis vitae munditiam et intelligentiae gratiam cum Iohanne sortitos populis et gentibus, linguis regibusque multis denuo prophetare, quod non sequitur reliquiarum Israel per Isaiam prophetata salvatio, nisi iuxta Paulum Apostolum prius introeat gentium plenitudo.

See also *Acta Innocentii pp. IV (1243–1254)*, ed. by Theodosius T. Haluščynskyj and Meletius Wojnar, Pontificia Commissio ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis, Fontes, ser. 3, vol. 4, tome 1 (Rome, 1962), no. 19, pp. 36–42; *Acta Alexandri p.p. IV (1254–1261)*, ed. by Theodosius T. Haluščynskyj and Meletius M. Wojnar, Pontificia Commissio ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis, Fontes, ser. 4, vol. 4, tome 2 (Rome, 1966), no. 38,

- pp. 73–74; *Acta Urbani IV, Clementis IV, Gregorii X (1261–1276)*, ed. by Aloysius L. Tăutu, Pontificia Commissio ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis, Fontes, ser. 3, vol. 5, tome 1 (Vatican City, 1953), no. 7, pp. 26–28; Delorme and Tăutu, no. 79, pp. 42–44, no. 110, pp. 184–85, no. 153, pp. 252–55.
- 26 *Bullarium franciscanum romanorum pontificum*, ed. by Johannes Hyacinthus Sbaralea, 7 vols (Rome, 1759–902), vol. 1, pp. 269–70: ‘Dilectis filiis fratribus Ordinis Fratrum Minorum in Terras Saracenorum, paganorum, et Graecorum, Bulgarorum, Cumanorum, aliorumque infidelium proficiscentibus salutem et apostolicam benedictionem’.
- 27 *Acta Inocentii pp. IV*, ed. by Haluščynskyj and Wojnar, no. 19, pp. 36–39:
- Dilectis filiis fratribus de Ordine Fratrum Minorum in terras Saracenorum, Paganorum, Graecorum, Bulgarorum, Cumanorum, Ethyoporum, Syrorum, Iberorum, Alanorum, Gazarorum, Gothorum, Zicorum, Buthe-norum, Jacobinorum, Nubianorum, Nestorinorum, Georgianorum, Armenorum, Indorum, Mesolitorum aliarumque infidelium nationum Orientis seu quarumcunque aliarum partium proficiscentibus.
- 28 Schmieder, p. 260, n. 4.
- 29 John of Plano Carpini, ‘Ystoria Mongalorum’, in *Giovanni di Pian di Carpine. Storia dei Mongoli*, ed. by Enrico Menestò and others, Biblioteca del Centro per il collegamento degli studi medievali e umanistici nell’Università di Perugia, 1 (Spoleto, 1989), p. 109: ‘in littera ruthenica, saracenicā et in littera Tartarorum’.
- 30 *Ibid.*, p. 325:

et interrogavit nos tunc temporis si erant apud dominum papam, qui intel-ligerent litteram Rutenorum vel Sarracenorum aut etiam Tartarorum; cui respondimus quod nec rutenam nec tartaricam nec sarracenam litteram habebamus, verumtamen Sarraceni erant in terra, sed a domino papa erant remoti. Diximus tamen quod nobis videbatur expedire quod scriberent in tartarico et nobis interpretarentur, et nos scriberemus in nostra littera dil-igenter, et portarem tam litteram quam interpretationem ad dominum papam. Et tunc recesserunt a nobis ad imperatorem. In die autem beati Martini iterum fuimus vocati, et venerunt ad nos Kadac, Cingai et Bala et scriptores predicti, et nobis litteram de verbo ad verbum interpretati fuerunt. Et cum scripsissemus in latino, faciebant sibi per singulas orationes inter-pretati, volentes scire si nos in verbo aliquo errarem. Et cum ambe littere fuerunt scripte, fecerunt nos legere semel et secundo, ne forte minus aliquod haberemus, et dixerunt nobis: “Videte quod omnia bene intelligatis, quia non expediret quod non intelligeretis omnia, quoniam debetis ad tam remotas provincias proficisci”. Et cum respondissemus: “Intelligimus omnia bene”, litteras in sarracenco rescripserunt, ut posset aliquis inveniri in partibus istis qui legere eas si dominus papa vellet’.

See also *ibid.*, pp. 122–23, 128.

- 31 Lupprian, no. 42, p. 221: ‘Sane licet litteras, quas exhibuit, nullus de hiis qui erant in nostra curia legere nobis scivit’.
- 32 Altaner, ‘Sprachkenntnisse und Dolmetscherwesen’, p. 90.
- 33 Roger Bacon, ‘Opus majus’, in *The Opus majus of Roger Bacon*, ed. by John Henry Bridges, 3 vols (Oxford, 1897–1900), III: 120:

ut intellexi quod Soldanus Babiloniae scripsit domino Regi Franciae qui nunc est, et non fuit inventus in toto studio Parisiensi nec in toto regno Franciae qui sciret litteram sufficienter exponere, nec nuntio ut oportuit respondere. Et dominus Rex de tanta ignorantia multum mirabatur, et valde ei displicuit quod sic invenit clerum ignorantem.

Cf. Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, 'Cultura e scienza araba nella Roma del Duecento', in idem, *Medicina e scienze della natura alla corte dei papi nel Duecento* (Spoleto, 1991), pp. 177–232 (p. 180).

34 Lupprian, no. 43, p. 224:

Reverendarum litterarum vestrarum tenore diligenter audito intelleximus, quomodo sanctitati vestre nunciorum nostrorum anno preterito directorum verbis tantum non litteris nostris audientiam responsionemque prebere oportuit, eo quod in curia sanctitatis vestre litteras sciens Mogalicas nullus reperitur. Verum mogalice signavimus, quia illo tempore scriba noster Latinus presens non affuerat.

35 Burkhard Roberg, 'Die Tartaren auf dem 2. Konzil von Lyon 1274', *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum*, 5 (1973), 241–302.

36 Lupprian, no. 44, p. 230: 'ego Ricardus notarius dicti domini regis et principis ac interpretis Latinorum'.

37 Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1240* (Harlow, 2005), p. 173.

38 Raymond Lull, *Petitio Raymundi in concilio generali ad acquirendam Terram Sanctam*, in Éphrem Longpré, 'Deux opuscules inédits du b. Raymond Lulle', *La France Franciscaine*, 18 (1935), 145–154 (pp. 149–151); Helene Wieruszowski, 'Ramon Llull et l'idée de la Cité de Dieu', in eadem, *Politics and Culture in Medieval Spain and Italy* (Rome, 1971), pp. 147–171 (pp. 164–170).

39 Decree *Inter sollicitudines*, in *The General Councils of Latin Christendom: From Constantinople IV to Pavia–Siena (869–1424)*, ed. by A. García y García, P. Gemeinhardt, G. Gresser, T. Izbicki, A. Larson, A. Melloni, J. Miethke, K. Pennington, B. Roberg, R. Saccenti and P. Stump, *Conciliorum oecumenicorum generaliumque decreta*, II/1 (Turnhout 2013), pp. 436–38 (p. 437); *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. by Heinrich Denifle, 4 vols (Paris, 1899–97), II: no. 695, p. 155), which is taken in Clem. 5.1.1, in Friedberg, *Corpus iuris canonici*, col. 1179:

Non ambigimus autem, quin ad huiusmodi nostrum desiderium assequendum divinatorum eloquiorum sit expositio congrua, ipsorumque fidelis praedicatio admodum opportuna. Sed nec ignoramus, quin et haec promi noscantur inaniter vacuaque redire, si auribus linguam loquentis ignorantium proferantur. Ideoque illius, cuius vicem in terris, licet immeriti, gerimus, imitantes exemplum, qui ituros per universum mundum ad evangelizandum apostolos in omni genere linguarum fore voluit eruditos; viris catholicis notitiam linguarum habentibus, quibus utuntur infideles praecipue, abundare sanctam affectamus ecclesiam, qui infideles ipsos sciant et valeant sacris institutis instruere, chresticolarumque collegio per doctrinam christianae fidei ac susceptionem sacri baptismatis aggregare.

40 *Ibid.*:

Ut igitur peritia linguarum huiusmodi possit habiliter per instructionis efficaciam obtineri, hoc sacro approbante concilio scholas in subscriptarum linguarum generibus, ubicunque romanam curiam residere contigerit, necnon in parisiensi. oxoniensi, bononiensi et salamantino studiis providimus erigendas, statuantes ut in quolibet locorum ipsorum teneantur viri catholici, sufficientem habentes hebraicae, arabicae et chaldaee linguarum notitiam, duo videlicet unuscuiusque linguae periti, qui scholas regant inibi, et libros de linguis ipsis in latinum fideliter transferentes, alios linguas ipsas sollicito doceant earumque peritiam studiosa in illos instructione transfundant, ut instructi et edocti sufficienter in linguis huiusmodi fructum speratum possint Deo auctore producere, fidem propugnaturi salubriter in ipsos populos infideles.

- See also Brigide Schwarz, *Kurienuniversität und stadtrömische Universität von ca. 1300 bis 1471* (Leiden, 2013), pp. 241–42. For the foundation of the *studium curiae*, see Heinrich Denifle, *Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400* (Berlin, 1885), pp. 301–10; Raymond Creytens, ‘Le “Studium Romanae Curiae” et le Maître du Sacré Palais’, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 12 (1942), 5–83; Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, ‘La fondazione dello “Studium Curiae”. Una rilettura critica’, in idem, *Medicina e scienze della natura alla corte dei papi nel Duecento* (Spoleto, 1991), pp. 363–90; Borwin Rusch, *Die Behörden und Hofbeamten der päpstlichen Kurie des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Königsberg, 1936), pp. 131–33; M. Michèle Mulchahey, ‘The Dominican *Studium Romanae Curiae*: The Papacy, the *Magisterium* and the Friars’, in *Philosophy and Theology in the Studia of the Religious Orders and at Papal and Royal Courts*, ed. by Kent Emery Jr, William J. Courtenay and Stephen M. Metzger (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 577–600.
- 41 Sbaralea, V: 154; Karl Heinrich Schäfer, *Die Ausgaben der apostolischen Kammer unter Johann XXII.* (Paderborn, 1911), p. 564: ‘fr. Conrado, electo magistro linguarum in curia, pro expensis unius septimane prox. preterite datis sibi 5 tur. gross. in die, 2 fl. 9 tur. gross’. See Altaner, ‘Sprachkenntnisse und Dolmetscherwesen’, p. 89; Bernard Guillemain, *La cour pontificale d’Avignon (1309–1376): étude d’une société* (Paris, 1966), p. 383; Richard, ‘L’enseignement des langues’, p. 161. In the university of Paris, there was a professor of Chaldean and Hebrew in 1319 and in 1320: Denifle, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, no. 777, pp. 228–29. See Berthier, p. 100. In Oxford, we can find a convert teaching Hebrew and Greek as early as 1321 and masters teaching Hebrew, Arabic and Chaldean at the university in 1325. See Arthur F. Leach, *Educational Charters and Documents 598 to 1909* (Cambridge, 1911), p. xxxi.
- 42 Schäfer, p. 573: ‘Raynerio de Costansa presbitero et Alexandro Petri clerico, nuntiis regis Ermenie, qui debent docere in curia linguas eorum, datis presbitero 4 tur. gross. in die et clerico 2 tur. gross., pro 10 diebus preteritis 5 s. tur. gross’.
- 43 John of Plano Carpini, *Storia dei Mongoli*, in Menestò et al., pp. 257–58: ‘Deum unum colunt, dominum Iesum Christum honorant, et credunt vitam eternam; sed minime baptizantur’.
- 44 Jean Dauvillier, *Histoire et institutions des Eglises orientales au Moyen Age* (London, 1983).
- 45 John of Plano Carpini, *Storia dei Mongoli*, in Menestò et al., p. 327:
- Dicebant etiam nobis christiani qui errant de familia eius quod credebant firmiter quod deberet fieri christianus, et de hoc habent sgnum apertum, quoniam ipse tenet clericos christianos et date is expensas; christianorum etiam capellam semper habet ante maius tentorium eius, et cantant publice et aperte, et pulsant ad horas secundum morem Grecorum, ut alii christiani, quantacumque sit ibi multitudo Tartarorum vel etiam hominum aliorum; quod non faciunt alii duces.
- 46 Matthew Paris, ‘Chronica majora’, in Luard, VI: 115:
- Item dixit idem frater quod rex eorum est filius Christianae. Nam pater ejus cum totam sibi subjugasset Indiam, et eum qui vocabatur presbyter Johannes, quod nomen omnes reges Indiae sortiuntur, iterfecisset, accepit filiam ejus in uxorem, ex qua genitus est ipse rex qui nunc regnat inter Tartaros.
- 47 Jean Richard, ‘La lettre du Cnnétable Smbat et les rapports entre Chrétiens et Mongols au milieu du XIII<sup>ème</sup> siècle’, in *Études arméniennes in memoriam Haïg Berbérian*, ed. by Dickran Kouymjian (Lisbon, 1986), pp. 683–96, repr. in idem, *Croisade et états latins d’Orient* (Aldershot, 1992), pp. 688–92.
- 48 Lupprian, no. 46, pp. 233–36.

## 10 *Dei et ecclesiae inimicus*

### A Correspondence between Pope Gregory IX and John III Batatzes<sup>1</sup>

*Koji Murata*

The Latin Empire, established as a result of the Fourth Crusade in 1204, was based on an unstable political and military foundation from the beginning. Many neighbouring polities targeted the capital, Constantinople.<sup>2</sup> A crisis for the Latins occurred when Emperor John III Batatzes of Nicaea (r. 1221–54), of the exiled Byzantine government, and the Bulgarian tsar John Asen II (r. 1218–41) formed an alliance and began attacking the Latin Empire from early 1235. Hearing the emperor of Constantinople John of Brienne's (r. 1229–37) cry for help, Pope Gregory IX (1227–41) decided to divert the Holy Land crusade, which he had announced in 1234, to Constantinople. In December 1235, the pope issued a crusade call to Hungary and France for the sake of Constantinople, targeting Batatzes and Asen. Although the pope continued his efforts until 1241, the crusade was never launched.

As recent historiography lucidly reveals, this failed attempt generated a massive amount of communication between the pope and the secular lords of the West.<sup>3</sup> These exchanges show us how each political actor behaved upon receiving the papal call to the Constantinople Crusade. However, the relationship between the pope and John Batatzes does not seem to have received sufficient attention.<sup>4</sup> This is partly because we know of only one exchange of letters between them; it does not necessarily mean that their relationship was weak. Rather, the dispute over the rights of Constantinople in the mid-1230s made them actively recognise one another. As I will discuss below, Gregory introduced a new political orientation towards the empire of Nicaea during his planning of the crusade to succour Constantinople. I will also argue that Gregory IX's methods of communication with John III Batatzes were one of his key strategies in attempting to materialise the Constantinople Crusade.

#### **Papal Labels for John III Batatzes**

The only known letter from Gregory IX to John III Batatzes, issued on 21 May 1237, is recorded in *Registra Vaticana* 18, folio 291<sup>r</sup>, though the original has been lost.<sup>5</sup> It begins with 'To the nobleman Batatzes, in the

spirit of wiser counsel' and, after confirming the supremacy of the Roman Church, continues as follows:

So many noble and powerful and so many vigorous warriors have taken the sign of the cross that their multitude is almost innumerable; through them and other Christian faithful, whose number is nearly infinite, it will be possible to provide help to the empire of Romania soon [...]. We think that we should carefully admonish Your Lordship and exhort you to consider your interest and salvation prudently, and to take precautions perceptively for your security in the future [...]. You should not devise any danger or damage against the aforementioned empire, nor cause any vexation or trouble to our most beloved son in Christ the illustrious Emperor John of Constantinople and his people, but rather you ought to provide help and counsel, and demonstrate your benevolence, so that you may show yourself a devoted son of the Roman Church both in faith and in deeds.<sup>6</sup>

Historians have stressed its lofty and aggressive content. They seem to agree that this letter was meant to intimidate Batatzes and induce him to abandon his plan to attack the Latin Empire, as well as to become a devotee of the Roman Church.<sup>7</sup> Was Gregory IX, however, really expecting meek obedience from the exiled Byzantine emperor? Our examination of the strategic function of this letter in Gregory's diplomacy will demonstrate the need to re-contextualise it within papal-Byzantine relations during the thirteenth century.

At first glance, the letter is interesting from the perspective of papal diplomacy, especially the formula of address. Before the Fourth Crusade, papal letters to the emperors of Byzantium had the following formula of address: 'X, illustri Constantinopolitano imperatori' ('to X, illustrious emperor of Constantinople').<sup>8</sup> After the capture of Constantinople in 1204, while this expression was retained for Latin emperors, popes began to employ another formula for letters to the exiled Byzantine governments of Nicaea and Epiros. One of few examples is a letter from Innocent III (1198–1216) to the Nicaean Emperor Theodore I Laskaris (r. 1205–21), dated 17 March 1208 and recorded in *Registra Vaticana* 7A, fols 54<sup>v</sup>–55<sup>f</sup>. This letter is addressed to 'Nobili viro Theodoro Lascaro' ('to the nobleman Theodore Laskaris'),<sup>9</sup> referring to the emperor as merely a Christian lord.<sup>10</sup>

Another surviving papal letter to the empire of Nicaea is the above-quoted one from Gregory IX to Batatzes in 1237, which begins, 'Nobili viro Vatacio spiritum consilii sanioris' ('to the nobleman Batatzes, in the spirit of wiser counsel'). The phrase 'spiritum consilii sanioris' indicates a new papal attitude towards the exiled government of Byzantium. In the first half of the thirteenth century, there was a formula that the papal chancery applied to specific groups of addressees. This is well-explained in the work *Ars dictandi* (manual for composing documents),<sup>11</sup> composed by Thomas of

Capua (before 1185–1243), who was vice-chancellor under Innocent III and Honorius III (1216–27), as well as being active under Gregory IX.<sup>12</sup> In Chapter 12, the author states that the phrases ‘spiritum consilii sanioris’, ‘Deum diligere ac timere’, and ‘redire ad cor et viam agnoscere veritatis’ are to be used for greetings to ‘pagans and excommunicates’.<sup>13</sup> Was Batatzes excommunicated or considered a pagan during the period in question, and if so, why? His labelling by the papacy requires further examination.

Except for the correspondence in 1237, no letters have survived that were exchanged between Gregory IX and Batatzes. Some of Gregory’s other letters, however, mention him. Papal letters issued between December 1235 and January 1236 to King Bela IV of Hungary (r. 1235–70) and some other Catholic rulers and prelates called Batatzes ‘schismaticus’, along with Asen, accusing them of the recent attack on Constantinople.<sup>14</sup> A few months later, in May 1236, the emperor of Nicaea received a new label in a papal letter to the Hungarian archbishops and their suffragans. Here, Gregory IX instructed them to excommunicate Asen unless he broke his alliance with Batatzes and retreated from the Latin Empire. Although Asen was Orthodox, Gregory treated him as a Catholic subject, seeking to bring him over to the pope’s side. In contrast, interestingly, Batatzes is described as ‘excommunicatus’ in this letter. This label corresponds to the phrase ‘spiritum consilii sanioris’ used in the letter from 1237, above.<sup>15</sup> However, from late 1236, Gregory began to employ yet another label: ‘Vatacius, Dei et ecclesie inimicus’ (‘Batatzes, enemy of God and Church’). It first appeared in a crusade letter, *Ad subveniendum imperio*, on 8 December 1236, which was addressed to prelates in north-eastern France (Cambrai, Tournai, Arras) and in Hungary.<sup>16</sup> Regarding this letter, scholars have focused on the fact that Gregory introduced the concept of ‘heresy’ to demonstrate the crisis in the Latin Empire, stressing the urgent importance of the Constantinople Crusade to the recipients.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, it seems that these scholars have ignored the new label for Batatzes. In fact, the papacy consistently employed this label for Batatzes from then on.<sup>18</sup> As I argue below, this marked the decisive turn in subsequent papal (and Western) attitudes towards Batatzes.

We see the quick change in Batatzes’ status from ‘schismaticus’ through ‘excommunicatus’ to ‘Dei et ecclesie inimicus’ within a year. When Gregory IX sent his letter to Batatzes in May 1237, with the phrase ‘spiritum consilii sanioris’, the label for Batatzes was fixed as ‘Dei et ecclesie inimicus’. These two expressions apparently do not relate to one another. One wonders whether Gregory IX employed them simply to express his vehement anger. A close analysis, however, reveals that ‘Dei et ecclesie inimicus’ was a topos used by the papacy to indicate a political enemy of the pope who had been excommunicated and was being designated as a target for crusades.

To the best of my knowledge, it was Innocent III who introduced the phrase ‘Dei et ecclesie inimicus’ to describe a particular person in a papal letter.<sup>19</sup> At the beginning of his pontificate, the pope strongly opposed Markward of Anweiler (d. 1202), an official of Emperor Henry VI (r. 1191–97). Markward



had claimed the guardianship of young Frederick II as well as the regency of Sicily after Henry's death in 1197 and had been excommunicated by Pope Celestine III (1191–98). In January 1199, Innocent III called Markward 'Dei et ecclesie inimicus' for the first time in a letter addressed to the people of Calabria and Apulia to urge them to rise up against Markward. In the same month, the pope initiated plans for a crusade against him. From then on, Markward continued to be called the 'enemy of God and Church' by the papal curia, even after his death.<sup>20</sup>

It was Gregory IX who used the phrase next, in reference to Emperor Frederick II (r. 1220–50). As is well known, the emperor was twice excommunicated by the pope in 1227 (until 1230) and again in 1239.<sup>21</sup> During the first period of Frederick's excommunication, Gregory invaded southern Italy, labelling him 'Dei et ecclesie inimicus' in a letter addressed to the people of Amiternum and Furconem (near L'Aquila) dated 7 September 1229.<sup>22</sup> However, such a label was exceptional during this period and Gregory's attack was not a crusade. From 1230 to 1238, Gregory never called Frederick 'inimicus'. The situation changed again after the second excommunication of Frederick in 1239. At this point, Gregory began to plan a crusade against the emperor, consistently labelling him as well as Ezzelino III da Romano (1194–1259), an ally of Frederick who had also been excommunicated, 'Dei et ecclesie inimicus'.<sup>23</sup> Quite interestingly, both Frederick and Ezzelino, as well as some southern Italian cities, were addressed by the pope with the formula, 'spiritum consilii sanioris' during this period.<sup>24</sup>

It is uncertain whether Gregory IX was intentionally retaining Innocent III's terminology. Also, there seems to be no direct background for its conception in canon law.<sup>25</sup> In any case, it can be said that both popes employed the phrase exclusively for their excommunicated enemies against whom military action, especially crusades, was to be directed. It is perhaps not a coincidence that modern historians have called the initiatives against Markward and Frederick 'political crusades'.<sup>26</sup> The papal chancery carefully selected the phrase. Gregory IX's approach to his 'political' enemies consisted of two steps: first, excommunication, and second, calling for a crusade in which the target was represented as the 'enemy of God and Church' to justify this action.

In Gregory's eyes, next to Frederick II, John Batatzes was emerging as a serious enemy in the mid-1230s. Historically, the two authorities of the papacy and Byzantium had disputed the supremacy of the Christian Church; after 1204, they also disputed that in Constantinople. In 1234, preliminary discussions on a reconciliation between the Greek and Roman Churches were held at Nicaea and Nymphaion, but no compromise was achieved.<sup>27</sup> Receiving the report of failure from the Roman delegates and hearing of the siege of Constantinople by Batatzes and Asen the next year, Gregory found it necessary to initiate military action against him. After the first call for the Constantinople Crusade in December 1235, the pope probably felt it was not a sufficiently urgent appeal to the lay powers of Europe to take up the cross against a mere 'schismaticus'. Thus, he changed his label for

Batatzes to increasingly more serious epithets, first ‘excommunicatus’ and finally ‘Dei et ecclesiae inimicus’, the latter connoting an excommunicate and crusade target. The phrase was hitherto employed only for enemies within the Roman Church, but Gregory extended its application to the Orthodox world based on an apparent schism.

The above discussion explains why Gregory addressed his letter of 21 May 1237 to ‘Nobili viro Vatacio spiritum consilii sanioris’. As in the cases of Frederick and Ezzelino, the papacy applied the term to Batatzes, another ‘Dei et ecclesiae inimicus’ who had backwards compatibility with ‘excommunicatus’. The papal letter was well elaborated according to the logic of the papal curia.<sup>28</sup>

### **The Context of Gregory’s Letter to Batatzes**

Let us turn now to the context of Gregory’s letter. Here, we must examine its immediate background, the siege of Constantinople from 1235 to 1236. The alliance of Batatzes and Asen seems to have been concluded at the end of 1234.<sup>29</sup> In early 1235, they liquidated the main Latin outposts in eastern Thrace and they attacked Constantinople by land and sea that summer. The first siege was repulsed by a Venetian fleet. In late autumn, Nicaean-Bulgarian forces renewed the assault, and the second siege became deadlocked until the summer of 1236. Between the two assaults, the Latin Emperor John of Brienne appealed for support to Venice and Gregory IX, which triggered the pope’s calls for the Constantinople Crusade.<sup>30</sup>

After issuing the first call in December 1235, Gregory attempted to win Asen over to his side. On 24 May 1236, as noted above, the pope intimidated Asen with a threat of excommunication.<sup>31</sup> Although Asen’s direct reaction to the missive is unknown, it would seem that the tsar abandoned Batatzes when they withdrew from the siege of Constantinople in the summer of 1236, probably because the city was not about to fall and/or because the tsar felt that Batatzes would gain more significantly from the alliance, rather than from any particular worry about excommunication.<sup>32</sup> In any case, Asen had clearly resumed his profession of loyalty to Rome by around March 1237, when John of Brienne died.<sup>33</sup>

Batatzes did notice the estrangement of Asen in the early stage, at which point the emperor had to reformulate his strategy for the Balkans and Constantinople. In this context, a seventeenth-century account is worthy of attention. Robert Saulger (1637–1709), a Jesuit missionary in Greece, tells us that after the second siege of Constantinople, Batatzes concluded a two-year truce with John of Brienne in late 1236 by asking Angelo Sanudo, the duke of Naxos (r. 1227–62), to mediate between them.<sup>34</sup> No documentation of this event remains, although it has been suggested that Saulger extracted this information from Naxiot letters and documents that are no longer extant.<sup>35</sup> How should we evaluate his account? I think a truce was highly probable based on the circumstances in the second half of 1236. We do not have any

contradictory evidence regarding the truce, and there was an interesting event that supports the existence of peace: the departure of Baldwin II (r. 1228–61), the heir of the Latin Empire, from Constantinople to Western Europe soon after the second siege in 1236 to appeal for aid.<sup>36</sup> Baldwin arrived at the papal curia before December 1236.<sup>37</sup> As J. S. Langdon suggests, Asen may have facilitated his journey through Bulgaria.<sup>38</sup> Still, at the very beginning of his itinerary, in the western hinterland of Constantinople, was Batatzes' outpost at Tzouroulon (modern Çorlu).<sup>39</sup> Did Baldwin dare to penetrate the blockade, or did he manage to pass undetected by the Nicaean troops? A peace treaty between Batatzes and John of Brienne would provide a more plausible explanation for the success of Baldwin's journey.

Arriving at the papal curia, Baldwin asked Gregory IX for aid for his Latin Empire. If the Nicaean-Latin treaty had really been concluded before his departure, Baldwin must have reported it to the pope. In that case, we should consider the extent to which the truce would have affected Gregory's plan for a crusade against Batatzes. In fact, the pope's plan had made steady progress by that time. On 23 October 1236, the pope announced that Peter of Dreux, count of Brittany, had decided to take up the cross for Constantinople.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, as mentioned above, the Bulgarian tsar Asen had virtually dissolved his alliance with Batatzes by late 1236. Meanwhile, the peace agreement between Nicaea and the Latin Empire risked rendering the crusade a non-event. For the pope, it presented the best possible opportunity to conquer and unite the Anatolian Byzantines under the Roman Church, and every obstacle to the crusade would have to be eliminated. It was under such circumstances that Gregory issued the crusade letter on 8 December 1236 to prelates in France and Hungary, in which he promoted Batatzes from simple 'excommunicatus' to 'Dei et ecclesie inimicus' and also introduced the argument of heresy to encourage the crusade. These overtures were made not only to encourage hesitant lords to take up the cross but also to add momentum to the crusade plan.

I think that Gregory's letter to Batatzes on 21 May 1237 can be regarded in a similar vein. Around that period, the pope developed active diplomacy with the Bulgarian Empire and Hungary concerning the Constantinople Crusade. On 21 May 1237, he wrote a reply to Asen, who had previously requested a papal legate concerning the situation with the Latin Empire. Gregory advised him to help the Latin Emperor John of Brienne in this letter (it did not mention the death of John two months previously, which was not known at the curia) and dispatched the bishop of Perugia as the pope's legate.<sup>41</sup> On the same day, a letter was written to King Bela IV of Hungary, requesting him to receive the above legate on his way to Bulgaria.<sup>42</sup> At Bela's court, the bishop of Perugia handed over instructions from the pope to the Hungarian king. According to these instructions, Bela was to encourage Asen to remain loyal to the Catholic faith, while compelling Batatzes to obedience by force.<sup>43</sup> In addition, Gregory offered a twenty-day indulgence for anyone in Hungary who heard a crusade sermon for Constantinople.<sup>44</sup>

On 1 June 1237, the pope again sent two letters to Asen and prelates in Bulgaria to encourage them to come back to the Roman Church and make peace with the Latin Empire.<sup>45</sup> The pope clearly did not expect Batatzes to yield to his threat of an impending crusade. Rather, Gregory intended for the crusaders to conquer the empire of Nicaea. One thus supposes that the papal letter to the Nicaean emperor was designed to urge Batatzes to remain hostile to the Latin Empire in anticipation of the seasonable execution of the crusade.<sup>46</sup>

Gregory's letter was full of discourtesies in terms of its formulae and contents. It was presumably the first announcement of Batatzes' excommunication to the Byzantines themselves. Though we do not know whether Batatzes realised the papal letter was meant to excommunicate him (because there was no explicit mention of such in the letter), the contents were enough to provoke his outrage. In this regard, it is fortunate that his reply has been transmitted, even though it only survives in the form of a later, Early Modern copy.<sup>47</sup> In his letter, written presumably soon after receiving Gregory's letter,<sup>48</sup> Batatzes declares:

My Majesty [i.e. Batatzes], having looked at the extraordinary nature of the writing, could not quite believe that it is your letter but is of a man living with the worst madness and having a soul filled with both vanity and audacity.<sup>49</sup>

The emperor continues to write with indignation and irony, stressing the lawful rights of the 'Greeks' over Constantinople since the reign of Constantine the Great and their unceasing struggle against the Latin Empire.<sup>50</sup> If our supposition is correct, it can be posited that the papal letter to Batatzes achieved its aim. Gregory may even have utilised the response to position the crusade advantageously, preaching Batatzes' desire for Constantinople.<sup>51</sup> At that stage, Gregory's plan for the Constantinople Crusade had nearly materialised. However, a series of events – the betrayal of Asen in the end of 1237, worsening relations with Frederick II, and the arrival of the Mongols – would ultimately hinder the pope's intentions.<sup>52</sup>

## Conclusion

In the end, the crusade for the Latin Empire was not launched. However, the papal position towards Batatzes did not change, even after Gregory's death in 1241. The letter deposing Frederick II issued by Innocent IV (1243–54) at the First Council of Lyon in 1245 includes the following passage:

[...] and he [Frederick] gave his daughter in marriage to Batatzes, the enemy of God and Church, who was solemnly separated by excommunication from the communion of the faithful, together with his ministers, counsellors, and supporters.<sup>53</sup>

Here, the letter explicitly labels Batatzes a ‘*Dei et ecclesiae inimicus*’ who had been excommunicated. Burkhard Roberg questioned when the excommunication was officially declared and could not find any answer.<sup>54</sup> Although there is no trace of Batatzes’ official excommunication by the Roman Church, we can now point out that the papacy began to call Batatzes ‘*excommunicatus*’ in May 1236 and that the papal letter in May 1237 may be the *post hoc* notice provided to Batatzes regarding his excommunication.<sup>55</sup> The phrase ‘*Dei et ecclesiae inimicus*’ in the letter of 1245 indicates that Innocent IV was following his predecessor’s attitude towards the Nicaean government.<sup>56</sup> Such a connotation seems to have been recognised by the Catholic world of the time. In the mid-1240s, Philippe de Toucy, bailli of the Latin Empire, and Egidius Quirinus, Venetian Podestà of Constantinople, stated that a Franciscan friar could not execute his mission in the East because of the attack by Batatzes ‘*inimicus Dei et ecclesie Romane*’.<sup>57</sup> This phrase continued to be used by later popes in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, retaining the same connotation.<sup>58</sup>

Let us summarise the argument. Though the plan for the Constantinople Crusade was not implemented, it produced a major change in the papal attitude towards the exiled Byzantine government. In his proactive diplomacy, Pope Gregory IX utilised the label ‘*Dei et ecclesie inimicus*’ – which had been introduced by Innocent III – for his ‘political’ enemies, indicating that they had been excommunicated and were deemed crusade targets. Gregory IX extended its use outside the Roman Church in the mid-1230s in an attempt to launch the crusade for Constantinople. The papal letter of 21 May 1237 declared Batatzes such an enemy, in terms of both the diplomatic formula and its contents, and continued to identify him as a serious threat to the Latin Empire as the ‘enemy of God and Church’.

## Notes

- 1 This work was supported by the Grant-in-Aid for JSPS Research Fellows (16J09738 and 19K13389). I am grateful to all the participants at the workshop in Tokyo for their valuable comments and warm suggestions regarding my essay.
- 2 In general, see Jean Longnon, *L’empire Latin de Constantinople et la Principauté de Morée* (Paris, 1949); Robert Lee Wolff, ‘The Latin Empire of Constantinople, 1204–1261’, in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. by Kenneth M. Setton, ii: *The Later Crusades, 1189–1311*, ed. by Robert Lee Wolff and Harry W. Hazard, 2nd edn (Madison, WI, 1969), pp. 187–234; Antonio Carile, *Per una storia dell’Impero Latino di Costantinopoli (1204–1261)*, 2nd edn (Bologna, 1978); Filip van Tricht, *The Latin renovatio of Byzantium: The Empire of Constantinople (1204–1228)* (Leiden, 2011); Stefan Burkhardt, *Mediterranes Kaisertum und imperiale Ordnungen: Das lateinische Kaiserreich von Konstantinopel* (Berlin, 2014).
- 3 Michael Lower, *The Barons’ Crusade: A Call to Arms and Its Consequences* (Philadelphia, PA, 2005); Nikolaos G. Chrissis, ‘A Diversion That Never Was: Thibaut IV of Champagne, Richard of Cornwall and Pope Gregory IX’s Crusading Plans for Constantinople, 1235–1239’, *Crusades*, 9 (2010), 123–45; idem, *Crusading in Frankish Greece: A Study of Byzantine-Western Relations and Attitudes, 1204–1282* (Turnhout, 2012).

- 4 Cf. Walter Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz: Die Trennung der beiden Mächte und das Problem ihrer Wiedervereinigung bis zum Untergange des byzantinischen Reiches (1453)* (Berlin, 1903), pp. 348–58; Joseph Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy, 1198–1400* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1979), pp. 61–77.
- 5 The headline for the letter is: ‘Nobili viro Vatacio. Ut non molestet Imperium Romanie’: Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Registra Vaticana 18, fol. 264<sup>r</sup>.
- 6 Venance Grumel, ‘Un problème littéraire: l’authenticité de la lettre de Jean Vatatzès, empereur de Nicée, au Pape Grégoire IX’, *Échos d’Orient*, 29 (1930), 450–58 (p. 456):

tot nobiles et potentes ac tot strenui bellatores assumpserint signum crucis quod pene illorum est innumerabilis multitudo, per quos et alios christifideles quorum fere infinitus est numerus sic poterit Imperio Romanie [...]. Nobilitatem tuam monendam duximus attente et hortandam, mandantes quatenus utilitati tue prudenter consulens et salutem, ac indemnitati provide precavens in futurum [...], nichil periculi, nichil dispendii contra dictum imperium machineris, nullamque karissimo in christo filio nostro Iohanni Imperatori Constantinopolitano illustri et suis molestiam inferas vel gravamen, sed potius impendas-auxilium consilium et favorem, ita quod te Romane ecclesie filium et devotum tam fide quam operum exhibitione demonstres.

I adapt the translation of Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, pp. 108–09 with slight modifications. See also *Les registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. by Lucien Auvray, vol. ii (Paris, 1907) (henceforth Auvray), no. 3693, pp. 659–60.

- 7 Norden, *Das Papsttum*, p. 356; Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, i: *The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, PA, 1976), pp. 63–64; Lower, *The Barons’ Crusade*, pp. 83–84; Aphrodite Papayianni, ‘The Papacy and the Fourth Crusade in the Correspondence of the Nicaean Emperors with the Popes’, in *La papauté et les croisades: Actes du VIIe Congrès de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, ed. by Michel Balard (Farnham, 2011), pp. 157–63 (pp. 162–63); Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, p. 108; Burkhardt, *Mediterranes Kaisertum*, pp. 330–31.
- 8 For example, a letter of Innocent III to Byzantine Emperor Alexios III Angelos (r. 1195–1203): *Die Register Innocenz’ III.*, ii: 2. *Pontifikatsjahr, 1199/1200. Texte*, ed. by Othmar Hageneder, Werner Maleczek and Alfred A. Strnad (Rome, 1979), no. 202, pp. 394–97 (13 November 1199) (p. 394): ‘Alex(io), illustri Constantinopolitano imperatori’. For the form of papal letter, see Thomas Frenz, *Papsturkunden des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, 2nd edn (Stuttgart, 2000), pp. 23–27.
- 9 *Die Register Innocenz’ III.*, xi: 11. *Pontifikatsjahr, 1208/1209*, ed. by Othmar Hageneder, Andrea Sommerlechner, Christoph Egger, Rainer Murauer, Reinhard Selinger and Herwig Weigl (Vienna, 2010), no. 44, pp. 60–64. On this letter, see Papayianni, ‘The Papacy and the Fourth Crusade’, pp. 158–62.
- 10 Frenz, *Papsturkunden*, p. 45. For the relationships between the papacy, Nicaea, and Epiros in the early thirteenth century, see Günter Prinzing, ‘Das Papsttum und der orthodox geprägte Südosten Europas 1180–1216’, in *Das Papsttum in der Welt des 12. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Ernst-Dieter Hehl, Ingrid Heike Ringel and Hubertus Seibert (Stuttgart, 2002), pp. 137–84 (pp. 174–83). For letters from popes to Epiros, see references in Rudolf S. Stefec, ‘Die Regesten der Herrscher von Epeiros, 1205–1318’, *Römische Historische Mitteilungen*, 57 (2015), 15–120 (nos 2, 20, 22, 67).
- 11 On this genre, see most recently Anne-Marie Turcan-Verkerk, ‘Répertoire chronologique des théories de l’art d’écrire en prose (milieu du XI<sup>e</sup> s. – années 1230): Auteur, œuvre(s), inc., édition(s) ou manuscrit(s)’, *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, 64 (2006), 193–239; Thomas Tanase, ‘Les relations de la Papauté

- avec l'orient mongol et musulman à travers les *artes dictandi*’, in *Eurasian Studies*, 11 (2013), 161–80; Benoît Grévin, ‘Les frontières du *dictamen*. Structuration et dynamiques d’un espace textuel médiéval (XIII<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> s.)’, *Interface*, 1 (2015), 142–69.
- 12 For the career of Thomas of Capua, see Hans M. Schaller, ‘Studien zur Briefsammlung des Kardinals Thomas von Capua’, *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 21 (1965), 371–518 (pp. 371–94).
- 13 *Die Ars Dictandi von Thomas von Capua*, ed. by Emmy Heller (Heidelberg, 1929), p. 24:

quia eius salutatio non mutatur, nisi paganis et excommunicatis, quibus cum scribit, aut omnino tacet, aut cum deberet dicere salutem et apostolicam benedictionem, dicit: “redire ad cor et viam agnoscere veritatis”, vel “spiritum consilii sanioris”, vel “Deum diligere ac timere” et similia. Tales enim dilectionis et filiationis nomine censet indignos.

Another contemporary example can be found in the *Summa dictaminis* of Guido Faba (c. 1190–shortly after 1242), professor of *dictamen* at the chapel of San Michele di Mercato di Mezzo in Bologna: see ‘Guidonis Fabe *Summa dictaminis*’, ed. by Augusto Gaudenzi, *Il Propugnatore*, 3.1 (1890), 287–338 and 3.2 (1890), 345–93 (p. 327):

Que persone non debeant salutari. Item nota quod non salutantur excommunicati, Saraceni, Iudei, vel Patareni, cuiuscumque secte fuerint dum tamen catholicam non sapiant puritatem; sed loco salutis dicitur quod habeant spiritum consilii sanioris hoc modo: [...] vel “tali excommunicato spiritum consilii sanioris”, vel [...].

- On the work, see Charles B. Faulhaber, ‘The *Summa dictaminis* of Guido Faba’, in *Medieval Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric*, ed. by James J. Murphy (Berkeley, CA, 1978), pp. 85–111.
- 14 Auvray, no. 2872, p. 217 (to Bela, on 16 December 1235); *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, ed. by Augustin Theiner, vol. i (Rome, 1859), no. 249, pp. 140–41 (p. 140): ‘Vatacius et Assanus Schismatici’; Auvray, nos 2873–79 and 2909–11, pp. 218 and 232–33. For the context of these letters, see Lower, *The Barons’ Crusade*, pp. 74–83; cf. Eugen Darkó, *Byzantinisch-ungarische Beziehungen in der zweiten Hälfte des XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Weimar, 1933), p. 7; Gábor Barabás, *Das Papsttum und Ungarn in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts (ca. 1198–ca. 1241). Päpstliche Einflussnahme – Zusammenwirken – Interessengegensätze* (Vienna, 2014), p. 198.
- 15 Auvray, no. 3156, p. 391 (24 May 1236); *Vetera monumenta historica*, no. 255, p. 144: ‘Cum nobilem virum Assanum litteris nostris monuerimus diligenter, ut a societate Vatacii excommunicati omnino recedens ab infestatione desisteret Latinorum, [...]’.
- 16 Auvray, nos 3395–96, pp. 512–13.
- 17 Richard T. Spence, ‘Gregory IX’s Attempted Expeditions to the Latin Empire of Constantinople: The Crusade for the Union of the Latin and Greek Churches’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 5 (1979), 163–76 (pp. 168–69, 173); Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, pp. 103–06.
- 18 Auvray, nos 3907 (20 October 1237), 3937 and 3944 (30 October 1237), 3946 (2 November 1237), 3945 (9 November 1237), 4035 (18 January 1238), 4156 (13 March 1238), 4209–17 (22 March 1238), 5123 (23 March 1240), 6089 (18 July 1241); *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, ed. by Alexandre Teulet, vol. ii (Paris, 1866), no. 2577, p. 353 (30 October 1237); *Epistolae saeculi XIII e regestis pontificum Romanorum selectae*, ed. by Karl Rodenberg, vol. i (Berlin, 1883), no. 724, pp. 622–23 (12 March 1238, represented tacitly).

- 19 Before Innocent III, the appearance of this combination of words in papal documents is extremely rare, and it seems that the phrase did not have any special meaning. See *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, vol. cc (Paris, 1855), no. 97, cols 169–70: a papal letter from Pope Alexander III to Eberhard of Salzburg (18 September 1162); *Die Konzilien der karolingischen Teilreiche, 843–859*, ed. by Wilfried Hartmann (Hannover, 1984), no. 38, pp. 383–98 (p. 391): a capitulary issued after the general assembly of Quierzy in February 857.
- 20 *Das Register Innocenz' III., i: 1. Pontifikatsjahr, 1198/1199, Texte*, ed. by Othmar Hagener and Anton Haidacher (Graz, 1964), no. 557, pp. 811–13 (c. 10–15 January 1199; cf. no. 556) (p. 812); *Register Innocenz' III., ii: no. 212*, pp. 411–14 (24 November 1199) (p. 414); *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum inde ab anno post Christum natum MCXCVIII ad annum MCCCIV*, ed. by August Potthast, vol. i (Berlin, 1874), no. 1798, p. 157 (7 September–December 1202) and no. 4526, p. 391 (8 June 1212). Cf. Brenda Bolton, 'Too Important to Neglect: The *Gesta Innocentii PP III*', in *Church and Chronicle in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to John Taylor*, ed. by Ian Wood and Graham A. Loud (London, 1991), pp. 87–99 (pp. 92–93); Rebecca Rist, *The Papacy and Crusading in Europe, 1198–1245* (London, 2009), pp. 175–78.
- 21 For example, Rist, *Papacy and Crusading*, pp. 181–84.
- 22 *Epistolae saeculi XIII*, no. 402, pp. 321–22. Cf. no. 376 (30 November 1228).
- 23 To Frederick: *Epistolae saeculi XIII*, nos 759 (20 November 1239), 763 (19 December 1239), 788 (7 November 1240), 797 (22 December 1240), 800 (28 January 1241), 802 (18 February 1241), 809 (13 April 1241), 814 (12 May 1241), 817 (29 May 1241). To Ezzelino: nos 757, 758 (20 November 1239).
- 24 *Epistolae saeculi XIII*, nos 370, 372, 451, 493, 526, 562, 563, 564, 593, 650, 688, 710, 763, 781, 810.
- 25 Neither the decrees of the ecumenical councils nor the canonical collections of Gratian and Gregory IX define the expression. A potential unspecified source for it is *Collectio canonum Hibernensis*, which was compiled in the late seventh or early eighth century and was widely circulated in southern Italy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (on this see Roger E. Reynolds, 'The Influence of the Eastern Patristic Fathers on the Canonical Collections of South Italy in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries', in *Canon Law, Religion, and Politics: Liber Amicorum Robert Somerville*, ed. by Uta-Renate Blumenthal, Anders Winroth and Peter Landau (Washington, DC, 2012), pp. 75–106). Book lxi, chapter 3 of this collection is devoted to 'De inimico proprio non maledicendo, sed inimico Dei et ecclesiae', and contains three quotations below: '*Origenes*: Non maledico inimicum meum, sed inimicum Dei et ecclesiae eius, cum enim patitur unum membrum, conpatiuntur omnia membra. *David*: Exurge, Domine, non confortetur homo [Psalm 9.20]. *Agustinus*: Cum homo confirmatur, ecclesia Dei infirmatur'. See *Die irische Kanonensammlung*, ed. by Hermann Wasserschleben, 2nd edn (Leipzig, 1885), p. 227.
- 26 Cf. Rist, *Papacy and Crusading*, pp. 171–217.
- 27 Girolamo Golubovich, 'Disputatio latinorum et graecorum seu Relatio Apocrisariorum Gregorii IX de gestis Nicaeae in Bithynia et Nymphaeae in Lydia 1234', *Archivum franciscanum historicum*, 12 (1919), 418–70. See also John Doran, 'Rites and Wrongs: The Latin Mission to Nicaea, 1234', in *Unity and Diversity in the Church*, ed. by Robert N. Swanson, *Studies in Church History*, 32 (Oxford, 1996), pp. 131–44.
- 28 For the participation of popes in the production of papal documents, see Patrick Zutshi, 'The Personal Role of the Pope in the Production of Papal Letters in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', in *Vom Nutzen des Schreibens: Soziales Gedächtnis, Herrschaft und Besitz im Mittelalter*, ed. by Walter Pohl and Paul Herold (Vienna, 2002), pp. 225–36.



- 29 *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453*, iii: *Regesten von 1204–1282*, ed. by Franz Dölger and Peter Wirth, 2nd edn (Munich, 1977), no. 1745, p. 26.
- 30 John S. Langdon, ‘The Forgotten Byzantino-Bulgarian Assault and Siege of Constantinople, 1235–1236, and the Breakup of the *entente cordiale* between John III Ducas Vatatzes and John Asen II in 1236 as Background to the Genesis of the Hohenstaufen-Vatatzes Alliance of 1242’, in *Byzantine Studies in Honor of Milton V. Anastos*, ed. by Speros Vryonis Jr (Malibu, CA, 1985), pp. 105–35 (pp. 105–14); Benjamin Hendrickx, ‘Régestes des empereurs latin de Constantinople (1204–1261/1272)’, *Byzantina*, 14 (1988), 7–222 (no. 180, pp. 121–22); Guy Perry, *John of Brienne: King of Jerusalem, Emperor of Constantinople, c. 1175–1237* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 158–59, 174–80.
- 31 See n. 15 above and also Francesco Dall’Aglia, ‘Crusading in a Nearer East: The Balkan Politics of Honorius III and Gregory IX (1221–1241)’, in *La papauté et les croisades*, ed. by Balard, pp. 173–83 (p. 181, n. 32).
- 32 Langdon, ‘The Forgotten Byzantino-Bulgarian Assault’, pp. 116–18; Dall’Aglia, ‘Crusading in a Nearer East’, p. 181; Perry, *John of Brienne*, p. 177.
- 33 See below.
- 34 Robert Saulger, *Histoire nouvelle des anciens ducs et autres souverains de l’Archipel* (Paris, 1698), p. 46:

Un des premiers Officiers de Vatace rendit au Duc [of the Naxos, Angelo Sanudo] une Lettre écrite de la propre main de son Maître, par laquelle ce Prince le prioit de faire sçavoir de sa part à l’Empereur de Constantinople la résolution où il étoit enfin d’arrêter désormais l’effusion du sang Chrétien, et de remettre la bonne intelligence entre les deux Empires. Il étoit aisé de s’appercevoir que Vatace ne proposoit cette trêve, que parcequ’il ne se sentoit plus assez fort pour continuer la guerre; et que dés qu’il se seroit un peu remis de ses pertes, il reviendroit les armes à la main en tirer vengeance. En effet, c’étoient-là les veues du Prince Grec; mais les Latins ne s’y laisserent pas surprendre : l’Empereur sollicité par le Duc de Naxe consentit à une trêve de deux ans, et se prepara plus que jamais à continuer la guerre.

See Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, p. 63; Hendrickx, ‘Régestes’, no. 181\*, p. 122; Perry, *John of Brienne*, p. 177.

- 35 Cf. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, p. 57, n. 56.
- 36 Langdon, ‘The Forgotten Byzantino-Bulgarian Assault’, pp. 117, 121.
- 37 Auvray, nos 3395, 3397, pp. 512–13 (8–12 December 1236) were apparently issued after Baldwin’s arrival at the curia. Cf. Lower, *The Barons’ Crusade*, pp. 149–50.
- 38 Langdon, ‘The Forgotten Byzantino-Bulgarian Assault’, pp. 117–18.
- 39 Tzouroulon (or Tzouroulos) had been taken by Batatzes between 1235 and 1236, and troops under Nikephoros Tarchaneiotes, *epi tes trapezes*, were stationed there. See *Georgii Acropolitae opera*, ed. by August Heisenberg and Peter Wirth, 2nd edn, vol. i (Stuttgart, 1978), chapters 33, 36; Ruth Macrides, *George Akropolites: The History* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 194–95, 200–01 (English translation of Akropolites); Andreas Külzer, *Ostthrakien (Europe)* (Vienna, 2008), p. 685.
- 40 Auvray, nos 3363–64, pp. 497–98 (23 October 1236). See Chrissis, ‘A Diversion That Never Was’, p. 131.
- 41 Auvray, no. 3694, p. 660; *Vetera monumenta historica*, no. 275, p. 155. Asen’s letter has not survived. The date of its issue was probably before the death of John of Brienne (19–23 March 1237: on this, see Perry, *John of Brienne*, pp. 181–82), as early as the end of 1236: see Langdon, ‘The Forgotten Byzantino-Bulgarian Assault’, p. 118.
- 42 Auvray, no. 3695, pp. 660–61; *Vetera monumenta historica*, no. 276, p. 155 (21 May 1237).

- 43 Auvray, no. 3716, p. 672; *Vetera monumenta historica*, no. 277, pp. 155–56 (31 May 1237).
- 44 Auvray, no. 3717, pp. 672–73; *Vetera monumenta historica*, no. 278, pp. 156–57 (1 June 1237).
- 45 Auvray, nos 3719–20, p. 673; *Vetera monumenta historica*, nos 279–80, pp. 157–58. See Lower, *The Barons' Crusade*, p. 83; Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, pp. 107–08; Alexandru Madgearu, *The Asanids: The Political and Military History of the Second Bulgarian Empire (1185–1280)* (Leiden, 2016), pp. 219–20.
- 46 Or it may be possible to regard it as a forerunner of a declaration of war in the modern sense. Cf. Brien Hallet, *The Lost Art of Declaring War* (Urbana, IL, 1998), pp. 61–95; Anuschka Tischer, *Offizielle Kriegsbegründungen in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Münster, 2012), pp. 31–47.
- 47 Dölger and Wirth, *Regesten*, no. 1757, p. 31 (dating: ‘nach Mai 21 (ca. Sommer)'). The text of Batatzes' letter has been transmitted via a single sixteenth- or seventeenth-century manuscript (Athens, Εθνική Βιβλιοθήκη της Ελλάδος, MS 1896). See *La corrispondenza diplomatica dell'imperatore bizantino con le potenze estere nel tredicesimo secolo (1204–1282): studio storico-diplomatico ed edizione critica*, ed. by Luca Pieralli (Vatican City, 2006), no. 2, pp. 119–26 (pp. 119–20).
- 48 The text lacks the date of issue. On the dating, L. Pieralli proposes ‘1237 estate-autunno’ or ‘almeno sei mesi posteriore al decesso di Jean de Brienne [March 1237]’, because Batatzes refers his death as a bygone (‘πάλαι’) fact (*La corrispondenza diplomatica*, no. 2, p. 119). I do not agree with Pieralli, because ‘πάλαι’ here is clearly an ironical expression about Gregory, who did not know of the death of John of Brienne two months before in this letter, and should be interpreted as an exaggeration. Rather, Batatzes mentions in his letter that he treated the papal envoys who had brought Gregory's letter gently, and it is reasonable to think that these envoys received Batatzes' reply before their return (*La corrispondenza diplomatica*, p. 126: ‘ή γάρ βασιλεία μου διότι τοῦ εἰρηνεύειν ἔνεκα μετὰ τῆς σῆς ἀγίότητος τὴν τοῦ γράμματος ἀπαιδευσίαν ἠνεγκεν ἀλύπως καὶ τοῖς τοῦτο διακομίσασι νηπίως προσηνέχθη’).
- 49 *La corrispondenza diplomatica*, p. 122 (translation mine): ‘ή δὲ βασιλεία μου πρὸς τὴν τῶν γεγραμμένων ἀποτίαν ἀφορώσα οὐ πάνυ τοι πιστεῦειν εἶχε σὸν εἶναι τὸ γράμμα, ἀλλὰ τινος ἐσχάτη μὲν συζῶντος ἀπονοία, τύφου δὲ καὶ <α>θαδείας πλήρη τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχοντος’.
- 50 *La corrispondenza diplomatica*, pp. 123–26.
- 51 On the preaching activity for the Constantinople crusade, see Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 37–43.
- 52 On the other hand, quite interestingly, Batatzes ceased to attack Constantinople after 1237.
- 53 Atria A. Larson and Kenneth N. Pennington, ‘Concilium Lugdunense I 1245’, in *The General Councils of Latin Christendom: From Constantinople IV to Pavia-Siena (869–1424)*, ed. by A. García y García, P. Gemeinhardt, G. Gresser, T. Izbicki, A. Larson, A. Melloni, J. Miethke, K. Pennington, B. Roberg, R. Saccenti and P. Stump, *Conciliorum oecumenicorum generaliumque decreta*, 2.1 (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 205–45 (p. 221) (translation mine): ‘et Batatio, Dei et ecclesiae inimico a communione fidelium per excommunicationis sententiam cum adiutoribus, consiliatoribus et fautoribus suis solemniter separato, filiam suam tradidit in uxorem’.
- 54 Burkhard Roberg, ‘Zur Überlieferung und Interpretation der Hauptquelle des Lugdunense I von 1245’, *Annuario historiae conciliorum*, 22 (1990), 31–67 (p. 57 and n. 112).
- 55 Regarding the process of excommunication in the pontificate of Gregory IX, see Christian Jaser, *Ecclesia maledicens: Rituelle und zeremonielle Exkommunikationsformen im Mittelalter* (Tübingen, 2013), pp. 374–427. We might compare the

case of Batatzes to that of Andronikos II Palaiologos (r. 1282–1328), to whom Pope Clement V (1305–14) issued a letter of excommunication on 3 June 1307: *Regestum Clementis papae V*, ed. by Monachi Ordinis S. Benedicti, vol. ii (Rome, 1885), no. 1759, p. 56:

Andronicum Paleologum [...] tanquam eorundem Grecorum antiquorum scismaticorum et in antiquato scismate constitutorum et per hoc hereticorum et heresis ipsorum ac scismatis antiquati fautorem de fratrum nostrorum consilio denuntiamus excommunicationis sententiam latam a canone incurrisse ac ipsius fore sententie vinculo innodatum.

- 56 On Innocent IV's attitude to the empire of Nicaea, see Antonino Franchi, *La svolta politico-ecclesiastica tra Roma e Bisanzio (1249–1254): la legazione di Giovanni da Parma, il ruolo di Federico II* (Rome, 1981); Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece*, pp. 135–72.
- 57 Karl Borchartd, 'Reg. Vat. 62: Ein päpstliches Dossier zur Politik gegenüber Ungläubigen und Schismatikern aus dem Jahre 1369', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 76 (1996), 147–218 (p. 210): 'cum Vatacius inimicus Dei et ecclesie Roman[e] guerram nobis indicens iniustam totique imperio Constan(tinopolitano) cominaretur graviter obsidionem urbi sepefate magno apparatu collecto ac eiusdem devastationem totis visibus [recte: viribus Borchartd] moliretur'. On the Franciscan friar in question, Dominic of Aragon, see Eugène Tisserant, 'La légation en Orient du Franciscain Dominique d'Aragon (1245–1247)', *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 24 (1924), 336–55 (pp. 339–47); Hendrickx, 'Régestes', no. 230, pp. 147–48.
- 58 Here, I cite some examples by successors to Gregory IX: Innocent IV referring to Frederick II and Conrad IV of Germany (*Les registres d'Innocent IV*, ed. by Élie Berger, 4 vols (Paris, 1884–1921), nos 1976, 2753, 3387, etc.); Clement IV referring to Manfred (*Les registres de Clément IV (1265–1268)*, ed. by Édouard Jordan (Paris, 1893), no. 158, p. 39: 23 October 1265); John XXII referring to Louis IV the Bavarian (Walter Senner, 'Archivo Segreto Vaticano: Dokumente von Papst Johannes XXII. Zum Konflikt in der Teutonia 1330–1334', in *Die deutschen Dominikaner und Dominikanerinnen im Mittelalter*, ed. by Sabine von Heusinger, Elias H. Füllenbach, Walter Senner and Klaus-Bernhard Springer (Berlin, 2016), no. 8, pp. 402–19).

# 11 Medieval Heretics in the East

## A Heresiological Label for Bosnian Bogomils/Patarenes in the Thirteenth Century

*Hisatsugu Kusabu*

### Introduction

During the early thirteenth century, the papacy established a variety of social controls on other faiths and popular religious movements within the Christian Oikoumene.<sup>1</sup> Intellectuals and officials emphasized anti-heretical legislation, as well as practical procedure against the heterodoxy.<sup>2</sup> Two repressive anti-heresy decretals – *Ad Abolendam* by Lucius III (1181–85) in 1184 and *Vergentis in senium* by Innocent III (1198–1216) in 1199 – revealed the on-going presence of a persecuting society.<sup>3</sup> Through a comparative investigation of the usage of heresy labels by Byzantine and Latin heresiologists, this chapter investigates the arbitrary – but politically well controlled – labeling of unruly but popular faith groups as a representation of papal strategy in the Oikoumene. From the eleventh century, heresies appeared roughly the same time in the East and West that were similar to each other: a sect named the Bogomils in Constantinople in 1099 and the Cathars at Cologne in 1163. Modern historians have considered this phenomenon a dualist revival in Christianized Europe and termed it dualist heresy or the medieval Manichee.<sup>4</sup> The study of the heresiological label for the Bosnian Patarenes (Patarin) invites reconsideration not only of the papal expansionism that applied to the Christians of Bosnia and Hum (later Herzegovina) in the thirteenth century but also of the historiography on medieval heresy.<sup>5</sup>

The political position of the Bosnian Christians (*krstjani*) remains unknown. It was so isolated that neighboring kings and the popes were skeptical about their faith and loyalty to Catholicism and the pope. Christians of Bosnia were nominally under a Catholic archbishop. However, the indigenous bishops and clerics lacked knowledge of the Latin liturgy and performed the rituals in Slavic. Even later, until the advancement of the Franciscans from the fourteenth century onwards, the majority of Bosnian land was almost beyond the religio-political control of either the Catholic or the Byzantine Orthodox Church.<sup>6</sup> The papacy intervened in Bosnian ecclesiastical affairs on a number of occasions. Ban Kulin (1180–1204), who was accused of being a patron of the heresy, held a synod at Bilino Polje in 1203, and attempted to protect the Orthodox faith of the

*krstjani*.<sup>7</sup> In 1221, Honorius III received a report from Cardinal Conrad of Rouen and Abbot Gervase of Premontre, which warned that the Cathar survivors of Carcassone had fled into Bosnia.<sup>8</sup> Pope Gregory IX intervened in the Catholic Church in Bosnia because of its supposed tolerance of heresy in 1232, and accused the Orthodox-oriented Bulgarian Church of being a supporter of heretics in 1238.<sup>9</sup> Gregory was urging Hungarian advancement to the Banates of Bosnia at the same time. Even later, in 1325, Pope John XXII wrote to Ban Stephen Kotromanić warning him about his tolerance toward the heretics who fled into Bosnia.<sup>10</sup> Each time, the Bosnian bans attempted to prove their innocence against the charge of heresy, and the popes and the authorities, including the mendicant orders, continued to criticize their weak attitude to the supposedly flourishing heretics.<sup>11</sup>

Medieval Bosnians have been given both the arbitrary labels of Patarenes and Bogomils by Orthodox and Catholic contemporaries, as well as modern historians.<sup>12</sup> After decades of discussion, scholars disagree whether Bosnian Dualism and the *krstjani* were simply Orthodox Christians. J. V. A. Fine Jr and others have doubted their denunciation as heretics.<sup>13</sup> The Bosnians in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries seem to have simply been ordinary local Christians whose piety was isolated from central authorities. Their ignorance of the papal or Byzantine imperial authorities resulted in arbitrary labeling as heretics. The Bosnian Church survived the accusation of heresy by the popes, and scholars hardly found any trace of heresy in the Bosnian popular faith. Historians tend simply to consider the Catholic labeling of the Bosnian *krstjani* as the Patarins and the Bogomils to be arbitrary and the product of false accusations. However, this labeling can be investigated as a demonstration of papal expansionism over the south-western Slavic countries and further east. The title of Patarenes given to those in Bosnia seems to be behind an assumed link between heretical groups in the East and the West, under the vague category of dualist heresies. The ‘othering’ of local sects in the Balkans played a critical role in extending papal authority in the thirteenth century. Its labeling of these faith groups gives us a clue to understanding an aspect of its political and evangelical approach to eastern Christendom.

### **The Latin Title Group: The Medieval Manichee**

For medieval Catholic and Byzantine clergy, the heresiological use of the label Manichaeans was very sensitive, since such labels were well controlled in heresy catalogues. As Wakefield indicates, inquisitors before the year 1260 seldom used the term Manichaean, although they must have been familiar with the label and its usage.<sup>14</sup> Heresiologists clearly distinguish the use of the category name and the heresiological label. Indicative of its chimeric quality, beginning from its dualist cosmology, a variety of heterodox thoughts of Arianism, Docetism, Marcionism, and Messalianism were all

categorized with the simple word 'heresy'. Both in the West and the East, aliases appeared: the Paulicians (Poplicans), Bogomils (Phundagiagitai, Babuni, Koudgeri), the Cathars (Gazari), and the Patarenes (Patarins). In the articles of 1018 and 1022, Adémar de Chabanne reported the presence of the Manichaeans in the whole of Aquitaine:

A little later, Manichaeans appeared throughout Aquitaine leading the people astray. They denied baptism and the Cross and every sound doctrine. They abstained from food and seemed like monks; they pretended chastity, but, among themselves, practiced every debauchery. They were ambassadors of Antichrist and caused many to turn away from the faith.<sup>15</sup>

There was a variety of ecclesiastical and secular legislation against the Manichaeans. In the *Codex Justinianus*, and the succeeding codices of Roman law codifications, the crime of Manichaeism was to be dealt with by capital punishment.<sup>16</sup> To consider a people Manichaean was to give them the worst label as heretic. Nina Garsoïan has revealed that popular Marcionists, the Paulicians (a diminutive form of the title meaning 'followers of a certain Paul or St Paul') in Asia Minor in the tenth century, were called Manichaeans for the purpose of having them extinguished by the imperial armies, since the Byzantine laws repeatedly condemned the Manichaeans with capital punishment.<sup>17</sup>

Regarding the original usage of the title *Cathari*, it is possible that this derived from the Augustinian heresy catalogue, the Isidorian *Etymologiae*, or the connotation of the Greek word for Cathari as 'purists',<sup>18</sup> considering their mention of the popularity of asceticism among the heretics. The label 'Cathars' was one of the titles included in the catalogue of heresy since the first ecumenical Council of Constantinople (381), and in the other councils that followed.<sup>19</sup> According to heresiology, the Cathari negated the mystery of marriage. The people in Cologne and other cities could identify such Purists by their way of life and ideas, which represented a criticism of city authorities and the Church hierarchy.

Originally, the title 'Patarenes' was used first in Milan in order to mean the reforming, and later dissident, activists that had nothing to do with Manichaeism, or even any other doctrinal heresy.<sup>20</sup> The etymology of the Patarenes has long been under discussion, however, Bernard Hamilton's thesis makes sense: that the term came from *Via dei Pattari* (the street of the rag-pickers) in medieval Milan.<sup>21</sup> The heretical label of the Patarenes had been used to control the Italian urban sect movements, until the popes listed it in the same line as the great heresies in the thirteenth century.

'Publicani' is a variant of the Paulicians (Paulikianoi).<sup>22</sup> In 1205, Villehardouin introduced the city Philippopolis (Phinepople), today's Plovdiv, where majority of the people were Popelican.<sup>23</sup> 'Publican' was the known title among European authors, including in England.<sup>24</sup> Anna Komnene wrote

about the history of the city in her *Alexiad*, and stated that the Paulicians and the Bogomils had taken over the city. According to Anna, the Paulicians were forcefully planted in the city of Philippopolis by Emperor John I Tzimiskes. The emperor Alexios stopped at the city en route to his campaign against the advancing Cumans and triumphed in doctrinal debates with these heretics.<sup>25</sup> It is important to note here that the titles Publican and Popelican were used more in Western writings than in those of Byzantine authors. Anna hardly mentions these terms in her writings by the time the area belonged to the Asen dynasty's independent empire of Bulgaria. The Byzantines regarded the title Paulicians as a local and minor alias of the Manichaeans and did not use the term often.

### **The Eastern Title Group: The Bogomils and the Others**

As in the case of Languedoc, in the Byzantine Oikoumene from the eleventh century onwards, the threat of heresy was reported with more frequency, especially since the warning of Euthymios of Acmonia on the influx of heretics into Constantinople. He called these heretics the Phundagiagite, the Massalians, or the Bogomils.<sup>26</sup> The condemnation of Bogomilism was frequently reported in Synodikons.<sup>27</sup> According to Yuri Stoyanov, Stephan Nemanja conducted a military campaign against the Bogomils, and persecuted them severely.<sup>28</sup>

A history of the label of the Bogomils is not simple, in spite of the fact that Presbyter Kozma introduced it as the name of the heresiarch. As Euthymios Zigabenos stated, the term Bogomil in Bulgarian meant 'the people who ask mercy from God'. Byzantine intellectuals knew that the Bogomils had their missionary 'teachers' active in the entire empire. However, heresiologists regarded their heresy as the revival of the Euchitai or the Massalians, in other words, the Manichaeans.<sup>29</sup> Byzantine heresiologists did not even pay attention to the heresiarch priest or 'pop Bogumil' in the time of Tsar Boris and the patriarch of Constantinople, Theophylact. After the interrogation and the *auto da fè* of Basil the Bogomil in 1099, Zigabenos and the synodal members gained knowledge of Basil's sect, and gave them the name 'Bogomiloi'.<sup>30</sup> Euthymios Zigabenos edited the *Dogmatike Panoplia*, where he devoted a chapter to the Bogomil, along with the Manichaeans, Paulicians, and Messalians.<sup>31</sup> Their rejection of the Old Testament (Marcionism), the hierarchy, icons and the Cross (the Paulicians), and their 'passive resistance' to the Great Church of the imperial authority were separately known as a type of heresy. Their theology and way of faith were part of the Messalians or *Euchitai*, and spread throughout Asia Minor. Byzantine intellectuals kept using the Bulgarian term without translating it into Greek.

The term Bogomil became equated with citizenship as a heresiological label by the thirteenth century. The Synod of Trnovo in 1211 was a critical moment not only because it revealed the continuation of the heresy in

Bulgaria and Macedonia but also because the Orthodox Church recognized Bogomilism as a distinctively new threat beyond the old list of heresies.

In Boril's *Synodikon*, the long history of the Bogomils was put together. The *Synodikon* was the first important source that established the history of the Bogomils and formed the genealogy from heresiarch 'Pop Bogumil' and his followers, especially Basil the Bogomil. The *Synodikon* introduced the anathemas against the Manichaeans in Bulgaria.<sup>32</sup> This was a copy of the Byzantine record that Zigabenos wrote down in his treatise against the Bogomils.<sup>33</sup> Then Boril's *Synodikon* established the full genealogy of the Bogomil school:

The *pop* Bogomil who during the reign of the Bulgarian Tsar Peter adopted this Manichaean heresy and spread it in the land of Bulgaria and also added to it that Christ our God was borne by the holy Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary [only] in appearance [...] anathema; [...] to Basil the physician, who spread this thrice-accursed heresy in Constantinople during the reign of the Orthodox emperor Alexius Comnenus, anathema; to the thrice-accursed Bogomil, to his disciple Michael, to Theodore, Dobri, Stephen, Basil, Peter and all his disciples and adherents who ridiculously claimed that the Incarnation of Christ was only in appearance and He did not take flesh of our holy and most pure Lady, Mother of God, to all of them, anathema.<sup>34</sup>

Patriarch Euthymios of Trnovo (1375–93) mentioned the spread of the Bogomils throughout Bulgaria in his work *The Life of Saint Hilarion*:

After a short time, while the saint was preaching and teaching, he found out that a considerable part of the Christians of the diocese were Manichaeans, Armenians, and Bogomils, who [...] were trying in the dark to shoot orthodox believers in their heart.<sup>35</sup>

In many cases, the author of the polemical works against heretics began their treatise by mentioning the list or the genealogy of heresies. Until the twelfth century, theologians and the synodal members referred to the established heresiology of John of Damascus, which revised Epiphanius' *Anacephaleosis* by adding a new section against the Muslims (Ishmaelitai). Zigabenos' *Dogmatike Panoplia* was an encyclopedic and dogmatic *florilegium*, although he followed the order of contents in the heresy list of John of Damascus. When Zigabenos decided to add a chapter on the Bogomils in his encyclopedia of heresy, the term Bogomil gained an independent status in court decisions and theological works that came after. The title of the Bogomils then became useful in denouncing the unruly popular faith groups in ascetism, since the Bogomils were considered as a heresy hidden under the monk's garment.



### The Missing Link in the Medieval Dualist Thesis

The dualist heresy thesis was based on contemporary inquisitors' reports that emphasized the connection between East and West, an idea that has also been assumed in the investigation of Christian dualism in the Balkans and Eastern Mediterranean by modern historians.<sup>36</sup> The thesis suggests an umbilical link between the East and the West.

In the geographical areas between the East and West, sources suggest the presence of the Neo-Manichaeans in Bulgaria, Macedonia, Dalmatia, and Bosnia.<sup>37</sup> When Reynerius Sacconi wrote about the Italian Cathars in 1250, he gave their 'original' churches as being in the East: Bulgaria and Drugunthia.<sup>38</sup> The author of the *De heresi catharorum in Lombardia* mentioned the close relationship between the Cathars of Italy and those of Bulgaria. He introduced a certain Marc who was 'consecrated' as the Cathar bishop in Bulgaria, and a certain 'papa' Nicheta (Niquinta) who came to Lombardy from Constantinople, and 'who began to declaim against the Bulgarian consecration which Mark had received'.<sup>39</sup>

The author of *Liber contra Manicheos*, who copied Sacconi and others, introduced the schism within the Manichaean/Cathar Churches between the Greek, Bulgarian, and Drogovete Churches.<sup>40</sup> A secret conference held at Saint-Félix de Calaman in 1167 reported on Niketas (Niquinta), a teacher from Constantinople.<sup>41</sup> As a general survey of the dualist 'link', Anselm of Alexandria in the mid-thirteenth century gives the full geography and history of medieval dualist heresy:

It should be remarked that there was in Persia an individual named Mani, who first began to ask himself: if there is a god, whence to evils arise? And if there is no god, whence comes good? As a result, he postulated two principles. He taught in the regions of Drugunthia, Bulgaria, and Philadelphia. Presently, Greeks from Constantinople, who are neighbours to Bulgaria at a distance of about three day's travel, went as merchants to the latter country; and, on return to their homeland, as their numbers grew, they set up there a bishop who is called bishop of the Greeks. [...] Thereafter, certain persons came from Constantinople. On return to their own land, they preached and, having increased in number, established a bishop who had gone to Constantinople returned to their homeland and preached and, as their numbers grew, set up a bishop of France. Because the French were originally led astray in Constantinople by Bulgars, throughout France these persons are called Bulgarian heretics.<sup>42</sup>

Historians assume that this narrative is a large dualists' network covering Constantinople, Bulgaria (Macedonia), Lombardy, and France and that it offers a most significant piece of evidence for the thesis. The anonymous First Crusader who wrote the *Gesta Francorum* left a note on the fort of heretics in the area between Bulgaria and Latin lands.<sup>43</sup> As mentioned above,

Villehardouin reported the presence of the Paulicians (popelican) in the Philippopolis or the surrounding area. We do not know if the camps were of the Bogomils or of other dualist heretics, although it was certain that the Byzantine Oikoumene included a variety of faith groups.

However, a heresiological linking of the heresy titles of the Bogomils and the Cathars remains unclear. In the remaining 'internal' literature of the Bogomils and the Cathars, it is possible to see a tone of dualism, such as the Satanal-Cosmology, the heterodox interpretation of Scriptures, and their rituals and religious customs in the semi-internal document of the interrogation report of Basil the Bogomil and the *Interrogatio Ioannis* in the thirteenth century.<sup>44</sup> Nevertheless, the denomination of the Bogomils never appeared in Latin Christendom. In a similar way, the Cathars were never seen in the sources of the Eastern Church authors as an active movement. The Byzantines knew that the term 'Bogumiloi' was Bulgarian. However, the Greek term 'Catharoi' was hardly mentioned by Greek authors. The Byzantines and Bulgarians wrote about the Paulicians, the Massalians, and the Bogomils in the East, but never about the Cathars in the West. None of the medieval authors listed the terms Bogomils and Cathars, or Patarenes in the same line. Rather, modern historians have. The denomination of the Bogomils only appeared in Greek and Bulgar-Slavic sources. The titles of the Patarenes and the Cathars, on the other hand, were totally unknown in Byzantine sources. The great link between the Eastern-Western titles seems to be a one-sided labeling by Latin intellectuals of the Eastern cases. It was not the Byzantines, but the popes and the Latin intellectuals who labeled the people of Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Bosnia as Cathars, Publicans, and Patarenes, respectively.

Here, it is important to note that the label of Bulgarians (Bogri, Bulgri), instead of the label Bogomils, was used in the West as a descriptor of heresy.<sup>45</sup> In the year 1236, it is recorded in the annals of the abbey of Saint-Médard in Soissons, that those heretics had become many and had spread to Flanders, Champagne, and Burgundy:

Hereticorum maxima multitudo, quos quidam vocabant Bulgaros, alii Piflos, per diversas civitates et castella Francie, Flandrie, Campanie, Burgondie et ceterarum provinciarum [...].<sup>46</sup>

Matthew Paris (c. 1200–59) also links the two heresies of the Patarins and the Bulgarians (*De Heretica Pravitate Paterinorum vel Bulgarorum*).<sup>47</sup> Borislav Primov introduces the manuscript source that regarded Albigeois as the place of heresy of Bougres.<sup>48</sup> We do not have any evidence if they simply equated the title of the Bulgarians with that of the Bogomils.

### **Papal Heresiology**

The popes focused on the eastern part of Europe and the Mediterranean in their war against 'Eastern' heresies, by paying attention to the nomenclature

of the titles first, as Alexander III did by the end of the twelfth century. However, soon they began to ignore the complex titles and declared their plan to expand into Eastern Christendom.

Hugh Eteriano was a Greek interpreter in the Pisan quarter in Constantinople from the 1150s during the reign of Manuel I Komnenos until the Latin massacre in 1182.<sup>49</sup> He later went back to Rome and died there. He had opportunities to attend the scenes of theological and political controversy as an interpreter and had reported the related news to the visiting Pisans. Considering the contents, when he composed the polemical work *Contra Patarenos*, he and his brother Leo Tuscus, the imperial translator from the 1160s, must have consulted the recent treatises against the Bogomils.<sup>50</sup> With his knowledge of Zigabenos and the Byzantine synodal records, he knew that: the heretics talked about the story of the fallen angels of Satan; ignored the priests and the Church; and rejected the Eucharist, icons, and the Cross. Hugh Eteriano considered that the heretics of Constantinople and its surrounding area had to be punished and rooted out 'not merely from the parts around the Hellespont but also from the entire world' ('non modo de partibus Elespontiaticis verum de orbe universo'). He reported the presence of heretics in the East to Western readers, but intentionally ignored the label of the Bogomils or the Messalians, about which he must have been familiar enough, and picked the Patarenes (*Patherenorum secta*) instead.<sup>51</sup> We do not know his reason for not picking the title of the Bogomils and his failure to introduce them to Western audiences. In any case, in the Latin context, it must be the Patarenes, not the Bogomils, that appeared in the Canon 27 of the Third Lateran.<sup>52</sup> It is, however, safe to say that in the Catholic context of papal anti-heresy policy, the title of the Latin name of Patarenes was appropriate for his work.

Catholic authors published multiple anti-heresy treatises.<sup>53</sup> In Roman Catholic Christendom, the catalogues listing heresy by Augustine and Isidore remained classical references for centuries.<sup>54</sup> A heresy catalogue was a literary genre development that considered the earlier state of Catholic intellectuals against heresy.<sup>55</sup> They tended to publish individual refutation and hardly mentioned outdated titles of heresy. The exceptions were the Simonians as the arch-heresiarch, the Arians as the most serious doctrinal deviation, and the Manichaeans as the nemesis of Christians.

The popes and Church authorities issued a number of correspondences on the then-pending issues caused by the condemnation of heresy. Church intellectuals conducted interrogation and debates with 'heretics' and established the genre of the practical handbooks for inquisitors.<sup>56</sup> According to Irene Bueno, the theologians' biblical exegesis worked as a polemical tool against heretics who used their own interpretation of the Scriptures.<sup>57</sup> Thereafter, by the fourteenth century, Latin intellectuals on heresy established an encyclopedia or *Summa* against heresies in order to replace Augustine's *De haeresibus* or Isidore's *De Etymologiae*.<sup>58</sup>

Canon 27 of the Third Lateran Council (1179) under Alexander III and Canon 3 of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) under Innocent III reveal

to us the contrast between the papal views on heretics. Pope Alexander labeled the suspected heretics as Cathari, Publicani, and Patareni instead of Manichaeans:

[Canon 27][...] For this reason, since in Gascony and the regions of Albi and Toulouse and in other places the loathsome heresy of those whom some call the Cathars, other the Patarenes, other the Publicani, and others by different names, has grown so strong that they no longer practise their wickedness in secret, as others do, but proclaim their error publicly and draw the simple and weak to join them, we declare that they and their defenders and those who receive them are under anathema, and we forbid under pain of anathema that anyone should keep or support them in their houses or lands or should trade with them.<sup>59</sup>

He clearly differentiated the denomination of heresies. A contemporary author, Sigibert of Gembloux, knew the labeling was done by Alexander III.<sup>60</sup> Although each of the three names represented individual groups, they were often called 'medieval Manichee' (*Manichei moderni*). Hitherto, historians have focused on the dualism in those sect movements. However, the management of the terminology by Church intellectuals has not received enough investigation.

Innocent III, however, regarded the concept of heresy as 'high treason' without considering the medieval Manichees or even the individuality of each of the heretical thoughts.<sup>61</sup> In Canon 3 of the Fourth Lateran Council, however, Innocent III declared a general summary of heresies without naming the active heresies:

[Canon 3] We excommunicate and anathematize every heresy raising itself up against this holy, orthodox and catholic faith, which we have expounded above. We condemn all heretics, whatever names they may go under. They have different faces indeed but their tails are tied together inasmuch as they are alike in their pride. Let those condemned be handed over to the secular authorities present, or to their bailiffs, for due punishment.<sup>62</sup>

## **Conclusion**

With the labeling of heresies in the early thirteenth century, Latin intellectuals and the popes one-sidedly emphasized the diffusion of heresies from the East; that is, Byzantium. In the thirteenth century, there was a remarkable turning point in the papal view on heretics during the years between the two Lateran Councils of 1179 and 1215. Papal authorities thought of Bosnia and Macedonia as the corridor of heretics coming from the East and waged crusades to shut down the influx into the then eastward-expanding Catholic Oikoumene in the thirteenth century.

In this sense, the terms Neo-Manichaeans and medieval dualist heresy need to be treated carefully as the terms of ‘papal’ and ‘modern’ labels of heresy attributed by intellectuals and historians, which have also been arbitrarily used in the historiography. The titles such as the *Boni Homines* of the Cathars, the *Christopolitai* of the Phundagiagiten-Bogomils, and the Bosnians’ *krstjani*, did not reflect whether they were actually heretical. However, the title *Manichei moderni* was popular among Church intellectuals both in the East and the West, and was used for heresy in general, but had almost nothing to do with original Manichaean dualism. It remains uncertain whether the labeling of Manichaeans meant exactly an accusation of dualism. Many of the Manichees’ defendants negated the hierarchy, Orthodox rituals, and the Cross. However, not all of them were familiar with the myth and cosmology of dual principles. Only Christian intellectuals who could consult the heresiology were able to label the defendants as Manichaeans with their specialized knowledge of doctrinal deviance.

A sort of supposed dualistic ‘trend’ in the medieval faiths is not to be doubted. The spread of the dualist movement is theoretically confirmed and attested in documents of their opponents, although such local and popular faith groups are to be carefully investigated without depending on the medieval nomenclature of heresy titles. There, the heresiological labeling did not define the ideal contents; it rather mirrored the religio-political decisions in the ideological expansion in the two Christendoms.

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## 12 The Papacy and Crusading in the Far North?

### A Forgotten Religious Frontier of Medieval Latin Christendom

*Takahiro Narikawa*

For many generations, a hunter-gathering and reindeer-herding people called the Finns or Lapps have lived at the far northern edge of Scandinavia, in the northernmost wasteland of Fennoscandia.<sup>1</sup> Generally identified with the Sámi today, they are said to have kept their ‘heathen’ faith until well after the Reformation.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, little attention has been paid to them as one of medieval Christianity’s ‘Others’, particularly by non-Scandinavian researchers.<sup>3</sup> This chapter will illustrate one aspect of the religious identity of medieval Norse people (those who mainly spoke Scandinavian languages) by focusing on the continuity and changes in their attitude toward these non-Christians by examining the possible influences of the papacy and the crusades. At the turn of the twelfth century, some Norse people traveled to the Holy Land to join the crusades against Muslim ‘infidels’, but they continued to live side by side with the ‘infidel’ (non-Christian) Finns. Did they intend to crusade against these neighbouring ‘infidels’, and if so, what prevented their plans from being put into practice? Or was it the case that the Norse were not so wholeheartedly Christianized as to embrace the pope’s call to crusade?

#### **Historiography on Norse Crusading and the Christianization of the ‘Finns’**

A considerable number of studies on medieval Scandinavians’ involvement in crusading activities, especially in their homelands, have been published since the monumental work of Christiansen.<sup>4</sup> Two large research projects in Scandinavian countries at the end of the twentieth century—Denmark and the Crusade Movement, at the University of Southern Denmark, and CCC: Culture Clash or Compromise, at Gotland University in Sweden—gave impetus to this research trend, and we can now read some of the best of their research in English.<sup>5</sup>

However, most of the new studies have concentrated on the eastern part of Scandinavia, Denmark, Sweden (‘East Norse’), and the Baltic region. Much less attention has been paid by specialists to the involvement of the Norwegians and ‘Norse’ inhabitants of the North Atlantic Isles, such as the

Orkney Islands, the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland ('West Norse') in crusading. Indeed, Paul Riant's nineteenth-century work can still be regarded as a seminal work on Norse involvement in the crusades to the Holy Land.<sup>6</sup>

Of the few researchers who have examined the impact of the crusades in the West Norse area, Bandlien should be noted first. His 2005 article reveals a trace of the crusading ideology in Old Norse historical writings in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,<sup>7</sup> and his latest study focuses on the perception of Muslims and Finns in Old Norse texts.<sup>8</sup> Svenungsen's article on Norwegian involvement in the Fifth Crusade is a rare and valuable case study, but his focus on a crusade to the Holy Land is mostly beyond the scope of this chapter.<sup>9</sup> Jensen, an expert on the Danish crusading movement during the Middle Ages, also attempts to integrate the crusading activity of the West Norsemen from the North Atlantic with that of the East Norsemen, although he seems to underestimate the regional differences within twelfth-century Scandinavia.<sup>10</sup>

The Norse expansion into the northernmost part of Fennoscandia and their interaction with the Finns have predominantly been treated in the fields of settlement archaeology, socio-economic history, and the local history of northern Norway.<sup>11</sup> Researchers have only recently shifted their attention to the significance of the Norwegian Church and its archbishop in northern Norway.<sup>12</sup>

### **From Vikings to Crusaders: Why Did the 'West' Norse Undertake a Journey to the Holy Land?**

King Sigurðr Magnússon of Norway (r. 1103–30) was the first Western European monarch to visit Jerusalem after Pope Urban II's call for a Crusade in Clermont in 1095. He departed Norway in 1107 with sixty ships, spent the first winter in England, passed through the Gibraltar Strait, and finally arrived in the Holy Land in the late summer of 1110. Both Scandinavian and non-Scandinavian sources alike state that Sigurðr and his fleets played a significant role in capturing Sidon, a harbour city on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean.<sup>13</sup> Before then, Sigurðr had undertaken a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem with King Baldwin I of Jerusalem. On his way back from the crusade, Sigurðr was welcomed by two monarchs, Emperor Alexios I Komnenos of Byzantium and King Nils of Denmark. Arriving home in 1112, he received the byname *Jórsalafari* (literal translation: 'he who went to Jerusalem').

While the opinions of modern historians and the tones of the sources differ as to whether King Sigurðr's 'journey to Jerusalem' should primarily be regarded as a crusade or merely as a kind of armed pilgrimage, an increasing number of recent studies have agreed that we cannot evaluate his undertaking without taking religious motives into consideration.<sup>14</sup> *Ágrip af Nóregskonungasögum* ('A short history of the Norwegian kings'), written

about eighty years after Sigurðr's expedition, presents an interesting passage in this regard: Sigurðr asked for a fragment of the True Cross from King Baldwin and took an oath on it that 'he should devote all his energies to advance Christianity further, so that Norway should have its own archbishopric, and the tithe should be collected'.<sup>15</sup> According to this account, at least part of his motivation for the expedition was to establish a more solid ecclesiastical organization within his kingdom. Here, we are tempted to presuppose that he planned his expedition in close collaboration with the pope in Rome. His deeds in the Holy Land certainly impressed several contemporary non-Scandinavian writers,<sup>16</sup> and the king himself was willing to get acquainted with some members of the non-Scandinavian clerical elite, including Abbot Peter the Venerable of Cluny.<sup>17</sup>

It was probably neither Rome nor the pope's call for a crusade but Jerusalem itself and the East that primarily appealed to the young king of Norway, though. Only two papal letters addressed to a recipient in Norway are extant from the reign of King Sigurðr.<sup>18</sup> Neither of these sources suggests that King Sigurðr tried to make contact with the papacy, either before or after his journey to the Holy Land, or that he obtained any kind of indulgence directly from his actions. According to the account in the thirteenth-century *Heimskringla*, it was hearsay from pilgrim-crusaders returning from the East that first impressed the Norwegians, and only then did the adolescent king take upon himself the role of leader of those who wished to undertake a journey to the Holy Land, in response to their requests.<sup>19</sup> These two elements, namely, the unclear demarcation of *Jórsalafari* between pilgrim and crusader, and Jerusalem itself, rather than the pope's call for a crusade, characterize the twelfth-century crusading movement in the West Norse area. Several Norse magnates, from Norway and across the North Atlantic Isles, also followed his example.<sup>20</sup>

On the other hand, the kings and kingdoms of Denmark had enjoyed closer ties with the papacy and several aristocratic families were in close contact with it at least since the middle of the eleventh century.<sup>21</sup> The Church province of Lund (now in Sweden) was founded in 1103/04 to oversee the churches not only in Denmark but also on the whole Scandinavian Peninsula, as well as the Norse colonies across the North Atlantic (albeit temporarily). King Erik I Ejegod of Denmark (r. 1095–1103), who succeeded in negotiating with Pope Urban II to establish this new ecclesiastical province, also departed on a journey to the Holy Land just after the First Crusade, although he died on the route in Cyprus.<sup>22</sup> Had he not done so, he might have been the first reigning monarch from Latin Christendom to have landed in Jerusalem during the crusade period, instead of King Sigurðr.

Another difference between the West and East Norse areas in terms of twelfth-century crusading activities is the latter's earlier local adaptation of the concept of a holy war against non-Christians and the military conquest of their land. In 1107/08, Archbishop Adelgoz of Magdeburg, together with several Saxon aristocrats, issued the famous 'Magdeburg Charter', which

requested help in the war against the pagan Wends living across the eastern border of Saxony.<sup>23</sup> The archbishop referred to the land of the Slavs (Wends) as 'Our Jerusalem' (*Hiersalem nostra*) to be 're-conquered'. Giles Constable called attention to the two meanings of 'Our' Jerusalem: it recalls a parallel between the historical Jerusalem of the Holy Land and 'our' Jerusalem in the land of the Slavs, and thus implies that the latter should likewise be emancipated from the yoke of the pagans.<sup>24</sup> The archbishop further adds that King Nils of Denmark, the younger brother of King Erik, offered to help the planned expedition against the land of the Slavs.<sup>25</sup> Hence, even before the famous Wendish Crusade in the middle of the twelfth century, the rulers of the East Norse area were familiar with crusading ideology, as well as the possibility of adapting it to the local context. An obituary notice from the third quarter of the twelfth century in the donation book of the cathedral chapter of Lund reads 'The illustrious laymen, Asmund and Godmund, were killed [on this day] among the pagan Slavs, with the holy sign of the Cross.'<sup>26</sup> Although only allusions remain, and in a fragmentary state, it is reasonable to suppose that the twelfth-century Norse of the East Norse area did not have much difficulty in identifying themselves with the crusaders and campaigning against their pagan Slavic-Wendish neighbors, like those who journeyed to the Holy Land to fight against Muslims. For them, Jerusalem was not just in the Holy Land or in Heaven but also represented in the North, at the northern edge of Latin Christendom.

### **Twelfth-Century Norsemen and the Finns: Living with the Enemy?**

When compared to the relationship between the Danes and the Wends, the relationship between the Norwegians and the Finns during the twelfth century seems relatively peaceful, although somewhat ambiguous. Archbishop Eystein Erlendsson of Trondheim/Nidaros (r. 1161–88) commissioned a miracle collection of St Olav, a Norwegian royal martyr, and we find an interesting episode among the miracles recorded: the fishing competition between Christians and the pagan Finns.<sup>27</sup> The story goes as follows: some fishermen who suffered from a storm and a bad catch swore a vow to God and St Olav. Then, the Finns came and were welcomed to join the fishing. The pagan Finns, however, connived to undermine the authority of the saint by resorting to sorcery for a good catch. As is often the case in such stories, this fishing competition ended with the victory of the Christians, helped by the intervention of St Olav, and the fishermen sent two dozen large fish in boats to the chapter as testimony to this miracle. In addition to the report forwarded by the fishermen, the archbishop himself was said to have visited the north the following summer, 'up to the border with the land of the pagans', to confirm the veracity of the story with other witnesses.<sup>28</sup>

Despite the text's assertion that 'Christ and Belial cannot be coexistent',<sup>29</sup> the interesting point of this episode is that the Christian Norse and

the pagan Finns lived side – by – side within the archbishopric in Norway, and the latter were not excluded altogether from interaction with the Christians. Another source, the geographical section of the *Historia Norwegie*, also states that the Norse and Finns lived alongside each other and that frequent bartering took place between the two in Hålogaland (northern Norway).<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, several regional law books from medieval Norway, usually dated c. 1100, provide a kind of ‘loophole’ for trading with non-Christians.<sup>31</sup>

Even King Sigurðr *Jórsalafari* himself was probably unwilling to give up trade with the Finns. On the contrary, kings of medieval Norway regarded the Finns as a source of wealth for the royal treasury, as the German emperor did the Jews, and attempted to declare such tribute collecting from the hunter-gathering Finns (called *finnskatt* or *finnkaup*) a royal prerogative. King Sigurðr is said to have had a dispute with his elder brother, Eystein, who acted on behalf of the magnate, over the granting of the privilege of *finnskatt*.<sup>32</sup> This kind of dispute between king and magnate is a favorite topos in Old Norse-Icelandic sagas, so we cannot say whether it really happened or not. It is important to note here, however, that the thirteenth-century Icelandic authors had little difficulty in projecting this topos onto the ‘pious’ crusader king.

The twelfth-century Norwegians were certainly not immune to the influx of the crusading ideology from the south. Haki Antonsson notes the possible significance of a paragraph of the canon concerning the reception of such ideology in Norwegian society.<sup>33</sup> The *Canones Nidoroensis* (hereafter the *Canones*) are a collection of fifteen canons on the status of the Norwegian Church in society, supposedly based on a draft brought by Cardinal Stephan of Orvieto when he visited Norway to crown the eight-year-old King Magnús Erlingsson (grandson of King Sigurðr *Jórsalafari*) in 1163/64. Canon 2 of the *Canones* connects the defence of the land (*patria*) with heavenly reward by employing Gratian’s just war concept.<sup>34</sup> Jensen also points out the similarity between this passage and the preaching of the Second Crusade.<sup>35</sup> In addition to the indirect evidence mentioned above, Pope Alexander III addressed a famous letter, *Non parum animus*, on 11 September 1171/72, to the kings, princes, and Christians of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and he promised the same remission of sins for those who would fight against the pagans as that granted to those who went to the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>36</sup> Why, then, did this new trend of crusading ideology fail in appealing to the mentality of the twelfth-century Norse in the West Norse area? I would like to suggest the following two possible hindrances.

The first possible factor is the political atmosphere of the late twelfth century. This era was characterized by internal strife, both in Europe and within the Scandinavian kingdoms. As the Alexandrine Schism broke out at the end of the 1150s, Norway and, later, Sweden, underwent a severe civil war between several contenders for the throne. In such circumstances, it is less feasible to recruit the faithful and organize them under the banner of the cross without strong leadership. Fonnesberg-Schmidt argues that Pope

Alexander III showed no great interest toward either the Baltic Crusade or the Scandinavian kingdoms.<sup>37</sup> According to her, Alexander tried instead to concentrate manpower on the Holy Land by prioritizing the indulgence granted to those who undertook a crusade to the Holy Land over other possible destinations. Consequently, there was no 'strong leadership' in late twelfth-century Norway, either within or outside the kingdom. Indeed, the heavenly reward mentioned in the *Canones* was probably employed to encourage soldiers to fight not against pagans outside the kingdom but fellow Christian soldiers belonging to opposing political factions, as stated in the *Canones*.<sup>38</sup> The political turmoil in Norway worsened toward the end of the twelfth century and culminated in the exile of Archbishop Eiríkr of Trondheim to Denmark, repeated excommunications of King Sverrir, and interdicts upon the kingdom of Norway.<sup>39</sup> Even after the reconciliation of King Hákon III, son of Sverrir, with the Church, the civil war in Norway continued until 1240. Moreover, visits by papal legates to Norway remained very rare, even compared to its Danish and Swedish-Baltic counterparts, during this period.<sup>40</sup> In sum, the Norwegians were so busy fighting each other that they could not afford to unite under the banner of the crusades.

Another possible hindrance to the local adoption of a crusading ideology against their northern heathen neighbours during this period was the natural resources of the northernmost wasteland and its traditional mode of exploitation by the Norse. Most of the Fennoscandia wasteland is located in the Arctic Circle, so farmers could not cultivate crops there. However, the wasteland was very rich in other kinds of natural resources, such as animal fur, pelts, and fish. The Finns were known to be very good at hunting them and used them to pay a tax or tribute to the Norse.<sup>41</sup> The kings seem to have considered the collection of a tribute from the Finns to be their prerogative up to as late as the twelfth century, and this kind of relationship between the Norse overlord and the Finn hunter-gatherers dates back to the time of the Vikings.<sup>42</sup> A kind of special 'segregation' was established in Fennoscandia as a result of this relationship, in spite of the intensifying interactions: while the heathen Finns hunted in the northernmost wilderness and paid tribute to the Christian Norse overlord, the Norse were usually content to live south of the cultivation limit. As long as this kind of mutually dependent relationship was maintained and the natural resources they wanted to exploit were received, there was little need for the Norse to expel the Finns and colonize them in the Far North. After all, the northernmost wasteland itself could not be Jerusalem, flowing with milk and honey.

### **Crusading against the 'Finns' in the Fourteenth Century: Real or Imaginary Threat?**

On 10 February 1323, Pope John XXII granted the Norwegian faithful—those who had defended their homeland and died in battle against the heathen Finns—the same indulgence as crusaders who had died defending the

Holy Land.<sup>43</sup> This is the oldest of the few mentions of a crusade against the Finns in Fennoscandia. The pope stated that the grant of this indulgence was based on a report of the barbarity of the Finns, submitted by many trustworthy people. According to the report, the Finns were savages who killed many people in Norway, and so the pope decided to grant remission of all sins committed against them.<sup>44</sup> Who informed Pope John, residing in southern France, of these reports on the Finns? Moreover, if these reports were true, what factors or individuals brought about the change in the circumstances in the Far North?

A letter written by Bishop Auðfinn of Bergen (probably in January 1326) shows us one such possible negotiating channel, as well as who really controlled this new crusading policy of Norway against the northern non-Christians (rather than the ten-year-old King Magnus).<sup>45</sup> According to Bishop Auðfinn, the steward (*drottseteldapifer*) Erling Vidkunsson had repeatedly asked the bishop for assistance in the defence of northern Norway against various invading groups, not only the Finns but also the Karelians and the Russians. We will discuss later how these latter two groups arrived on the scene. Of course, financial contributions, namely, taxation of the clergy, were also included in the 'assistance' the steward asked of the bishop. Erling was the most influential layman in Norway at that time. In 1323, the royal council held in Oslo elected him to the post of regent (*formann*), presiding over the royal treasuries (*fehirde*), local administration, castle construction, and other royal business conducted for the king, such as diplomacy, with the approval of the bishop.<sup>46</sup> In addition to communicating with the bishop in Norway, Erling also tried to negotiate with the Avignon papacy through another, more direct, channel. In August 1324/25, Bishop Auðfinn received another letter from Avignon. The author of the second letter was a knight (*miles*), called Bertrandus de Sujol, who was in Avignon as an ambassador on behalf of the king of Norway and was awaiting a reply from the pope.<sup>47</sup> While we know little about his fellow ambassador, Raymondus de Lamera, and about why they were recruited to act on behalf of King Magnus or Erling in Avignon, it is a very rare example of any evidence for a Scandinavian ambassador at the papal court. The letter was written at least half a year before the first letter by the bishop, so we can assume that the steward tried to negotiate the possibility of imposing the crusading tax both at home and in Avignon at about the same time. However, it took a year or two more for their efforts to produce fruit. When Pope John XII appointed two papal collectors, Johannes de Serone and Bertrandus de Ortis, to collect the subsidy for the Holy Land in three Scandinavian kingdoms in August 1326,<sup>48</sup> the pope, who originally intended to spend the subsidy for the crusade against the 'heresies' in Italy, made a reluctant compromise with King Magnus on a half or a third of the subsidy.<sup>49</sup> He mentions the report of repeated invasions by pagans (the Karelians and Russians) as the reason for the compromise. Thus, the steward was granted what he wanted directly from the pope, on behalf of the young king. Why was Erling so eager to engage with the crusade or the problem of the infidels in the Far

North? Moreover, how did the Karelians and Russians become involved in the situation there?

A clue can be found in Erling's power base within Norway. He came from a family of powerful magnates in northern Norway, and the traditional Norse–Finn relationship in the Far North was threatened by the intrusion of new 'ethnic' groups at that time. The Karelians' home lay in the land of Karelia, between modern-day Finland and Greater Novgorod, the medieval Russian polity in north-western Russia, but they often undertook journeys in the northern wilderness and traded with the hunter-gathering Finns there, as the Norse people did.<sup>50</sup> They are also usually regarded as a dependent group of the Novgorodian-Russian overlords who formally incorporated Karelia into their dominion, but it is worth noting that the Novgorodians themselves rarely appeared in sources from the West Norse area, at least until the mid-1320s.<sup>51</sup> In the entry for the year 1271, the Icelandic Annals (*annales regii*) record that the Karelians (*Kereliar*) attacked Hálogaland for the first time, together with a more traditionally hostile group, the Kvens.<sup>52</sup> In subsequent years, however, this new hostile group was dominant among the names of the invaders in the entries of the annals.<sup>53</sup> Then, in 1323, the Russians (*Rysar*) and the Karelians harried Hálogaland and even burned Bjarkøy, near Tromsø, the power centre of Erling's 'Bjarkøy family'.<sup>54</sup> It was probably this last invasion that the pope mentioned in his mandate. On the northern side of the Varanger fjord, at the north-eastern edge of modern-day Norway, the fortress Vardø (*Vardøhus festning*) was built at about this time.<sup>55</sup> The purpose of building a fortress in such an isolated place was to defend this northernmost wilderness against the threat of the groups listed in the papal letter. Bratrein even hypothesizes that the money assigned to the kingdom of Norway for crusading in the Far North was in fact spent to build this fortress.<sup>56</sup> In short, the wilderness in northern Norway was no longer a safe place for exploiting its natural resources through the traditional relationship with the Finns.

We do not have to regard the Norwegians as one-sided victims of the changing circumstances in Fennoscandia, however. In fact, Novgorod could no more control the new groups of Arctic people than could the Norse, as many previous studies have tended to assume. Russian sources also mention repeated revolts by the Karelians, as well as their betrayal to the Catholics (*Nemtsy*).<sup>57</sup> As is also often pointed out, Norway's political union with Sweden in 1319 definitely worsened the former's relationship with Novgorod.<sup>58</sup> This union between Norway and Sweden during the reign of Magnus Eriksson (1319–74), son of Jarl Erik Magnusson of Södermanland (son of King Magnus Ladurås of Sweden) and Ingebjörg Hákonsdóttir of Norway (daughter of King Hákon V Magnússon of Norway), can be regarded as a predecessor of the later Kalmar Union. While both kingdoms had one king, Magnus, at least until 1343/44 (when Erik Magnusson, the younger son of King Magnus Eriksson was elected king of Norway), Norway and Sweden had different royal councils. Moreover, Sweden had disputes with Novgorod over both the settled land in modern-day Finland and the northern



wasteland.<sup>59</sup> During the failed crusading campaign of King Magnus against Novgorod (1348–51), the Russians were said to have harried northern Norway again. Several versions of the Icelandic Annals record this hazardous campaign as well as the turmoil in northern Norway.<sup>60</sup> In March 1351, again as a response to Norway/Sweden, Pope Clement VI offered a compromise, granting half the crusade tithe to King Magnus to accomplish the conversion of the Karelians and Inglians, in spite of the disturbances by the Russians.<sup>61</sup> The Finns were no longer mentioned in the papal letter. Thus, Norway was drawn more directly into the holy war in the Far North against the Orthodox Russians because of its political union with Sweden.

Where, then, did the not-so-hostile Finns of the northern wasteland go? While the sources are fragmentary, we have some very interesting accounts of them from the fourteenth century. A fourteenth-century manuscript of an encyclopedia from Iceland contains an account of a miracle.<sup>62</sup> The story goes as follows: the protagonist was a priest living in Hålogaland. He joined some merchants and departed for Finnmark, dropped in at several ports, and met many non-Christian (i.e., unbaptized) Finns. One day, the priest performed Mass in a tent, surrounded by a multitude of (non-Christian) Finns. Among the Finns, there was a sorcerer who was respected by the others. During the Mass, when the priest took up a piece of the Host, the Finn sorcerer suddenly ran away from the tent and fell nearby, nearly dead. The translator asked him what had happened, and the sorcerer answered:

I saw a horrible scene inside the tent. I saw the man you call ‘priest’ grasp a shiny, bloody baby between his hands during the ritual, so I tried to cast a spell to counteract the ritual, but I could not.

Although the scribe hesitated to say explicitly whether the sorcerer finally converted or not, he added further that the priest notified the archbishop of Trondheim of the miracle, who then arranged for this to be announced to the public with the singing of the *Te Deum*. It is remarkable that the Finns did not show any negative attitude toward Christianity, and the generally non-hostile relationship between the Norse and Finns still prevailed at the time of this episode, as Bandlien notes.<sup>63</sup> While presupposing the hegemony of Christianity, this episode of the miracle, authorized by the archbishop himself, does not focus on the forceful conversion of non-Christians.

This kind of contrast between the relative receptiveness of the non-Christian Finns and the ambiguous attitude of the Church is also present in other sources. The Flatøy version of the Icelandic Annals states that Martein, titled ‘king of the Finns’ (*Finnkongen*), came to meet King Hákon V of Norway in 1313.<sup>64</sup> This is the only primary source about him, and previous studies have provided different hypotheses about his ethnic and religious origins as well as his motive for visiting the king of Norway.<sup>65</sup> That same summer, however, King Hákon issued a series of legal amendments (*rettarbotar*)

regarding the inhabitants of Hålogaland that include a partial exemption of the fine for Finns who converted to Christianity as well as an order to lesser officials (*årmenn*), either of the king or the archbishop, not to abuse the judicial procedure against Finns who came to them.<sup>66</sup> These amendments must have been a response to the meeting between the two kings and suggest that the king of Christian Norway listened to the Finns' petitioning, at least to some extent. I would also point out that the legislative texts and the Christian name of the king of the Finns do not exclude the possibility of converted, pro-Norse Finns in the northern wilderness. Some of them might even have understood the language and manner of the Norse so that they could negotiate on behalf of their fellow Finns. A further example, from Sweden, confirms this point.<sup>67</sup> In 1389, Regent Margaret I of Sweden met a certain woman with a letter of recommendation from the bishop of Strängnäs, Sweden. This woman was truly remarkable. She asked the widowed queen to promote missionary activities among the northern Lapps (Finns); she herself was a Finn, and, furthermore, she was a namesake of the queen (Margareta). The queen was so impressed by meeting her namesake Christian Finn that she granted her wish, ordering the archbishop of Uppsala, Sweden, as well as Philippus Kalori, a bailiff (*fogde*) at Korsholm, Finland, to undertake this business.<sup>68</sup> While we do not know more about the outcome of this missionary activity, this episode alone shows the possible influence of Christianity among the Finns in the Far North during the Later Middle Ages. Through the long-term and usually non-hostile interactions, even the non-Christian Finns were likely to be exposed to Christianity and had possibly incorporated some elements of Christianity into their traditional worldview by the Later Middle Ages.<sup>69</sup>

## Conclusion

The mid-fourteenth century was a hard time and a turning point in the history of the northern wasteland. As the king was largely absent, first from Norway and then moving further south due to the political union with other Nordic kingdoms, the ruler of Norway showed little interest in circumstances in the Far North. After the death of Lord Erling Vidkunsson, who actively adopted and pursued the crusade in Fennoscandia in 1355, no one continued his policy. The male line of the Bjarkøy family and the family's traditional interest in the Far North subsequently died out, and Erling's multiple estates were divided among his female heirs, some of whom did not even live in Norway. Thus, we can suppose that the predominance of the crusading ideology and the aggression of the West Norse against the Finns in the Far North in the first half of the fourteenth century were rather temporary, isolated phenomena, primarily determined by the political connection of Norway with other powers. The inner-Nordic dynastic alliance certainly played an important role as a reception channel for crusading ideology, or at least the direct relation with the papacy did.

When the necessity arose, however, fourteenth-century Norsemen like Steward Erling could negotiate with the papacy to obtain letters of indulgence—as well as the crusading ideology represented in such documents—and adopt them for their own use. Scandinavia, situated at the northern border of Europe, was thus deeply integrated into Latin Christendom during the Later Middle Ages.

The attitudes of the Norse toward the Finns based on tolerance (to some extent) and the cultural hegemony of Christianity survived at least until the eve of the Reformation. In 1520, Archbishop Erik Valkendorf of Trondheim wrote a short geographical description of Finnmark and addressed it to the pope. In this work, he boasted of the conversion of some Finns to Christianity that could have happened centuries before him in the Far North. He made use of the religion of the Finns to strengthen his own position just as Erling had done two centuries earlier.

## Notes

- 1 The contemporary sources from the Middle Ages usually employ the word, either as *Finnar* (in Old Norse) or its Latinized form, *Finni*, to designate them.
- 2 While Thomas von Westen (d. 1727), a Lutheran missionary, is generally known as an ‘apostle of the Christianization of the Sámi’, academics tend to date the beginning of the Christian influences among them further back to the Middle Ages. Concerning the historiography of the Christianization of the Sámi (who lived adjacent to the Norwegians) in general, see Siv Rasmussen, ‘The Protracted Sámi Reformation – Or the Protracted Sámi Christianizing Process’, in *The Protracted Reformation in Northern Norway: Introductory Studies*, ed. by Lars Ivan Hansen, Rognald Heisedal Bergesen and Ingebjørg Hage (Orkana, 2014), pp. 165–83. As for the ‘Swedish’ Sámi, Håkan Rydving, *The End of Drum-Time: Religious Change among the Lule Saami, 1670s–1740s*, 3rd edn (Uppsala, 2010) is a classic work in English.
- 3 To give an example, Richard Fletcher, *The Conversion of Europe from Paganism to Christianity 371–1386 AD* (London, 1997), p. 503 concludes his brief treatment of the Lapps with the statement: ‘Except by those who traded with them, they can be ignored.’
- 4 Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusade*, new edn (Harmondsworth, 1998). The comparison between the bibliography of *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier 1150–1500*, ed. by Alan V. Murray (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 278–85 and that of *The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*, ed. by idem (Aldershot, 2009), pp. 341–55 shows the historiographical development of this field of study during the last two decades.
- 5 Anne L. Bysted, Kurt Villads Jensen, Carsten Selch Jensen and John Lind, *Jerusalem in the North: Denmark and the Baltic Crusades, 1100–1522* (Turnhout, 2012); Janus M. Jensen, *Denmark and the Crusades, 1400–1650* (Leiden, 2007); Kurt V. Jensen, *Crusading at the Edges of Europe: Denmark and Portugal c.1000–1250* (London, 2017); Anti Selart, *Livonia, Rus’ and the Baltic Crusades in the Thirteenth Century* (Leiden, 2015).
- 6 Paul Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages des Scandinaves en Terre Sainte au temps des croisades* (Paris, 1865).
- 7 Bjørn Bandlien, ‘A New Norse Knighthood? The Impact of the Templars in Late Twelfth-Century Norway’, in *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology*, ed. by Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen, Kurt Villads Jensen, Janne Malkki and Katja Ritari (Helsinki, 2005), pp. 175–84.

- 8 Bjørn Bandlien, 'Trading with Muslims and the Sámi in Medieval Norway', in *Fear and Loathing in the North: Jews and Muslims in Medieval Scandinavia and the Baltic Religion*, ed. by Cornelia Heß and Jonathan Adams (Berlin, 2015), pp. 31–48.
- 9 Pål B. Svenungsen, 'Norway and the Fifth Crusade: The Crusade Movement on the Outskirts of Europe', in *The Fifth Crusade in Context: The Crusading Movement in the Early Thirteenth Century*, ed. by E. J. Mylod et al. (London, 2017), pp. 218–30.
- 10 Janus M. Jensen, 'Politics and Crusade: Scandinavia, the Avignon Papacy and the Crusade in the XIVth Century', in *La Papauté et les croisades: Actes du VIIe congrès de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, ed. by Michel Balard (Aldershot, 2011), pp. 269–85; idem, 'The Second Crusade and the Significance of Crusading in Scandinavia and the North Atlantic Region', in *The Second Crusade: Holy War on the Periphery of Latin Christendom*, ed. by Jason T. Roche and J. M. Jensen (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 155–81.
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- 15 *Agrip af Noregskonungasögum*, ed. and trans. by Matthew J. Driscoll, 2nd edn (London, 2008), p. 72.
- 16 William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, ed. and trans. by R. Mynors, R. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols (Oxford, 1998), i: 480; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. by Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 543–46.
- 17 *Latinske document til norsk historie fram til år 1204*, ed. by Eirik Vandvik (Oslo, 1959), no. 4 [henceforth *LDNH*].
- 18 *LDNH*, nos 3, 5. Cf. *Regesta pontificum romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum 1198*, ed. by Philippe Jaffé and Samuel Löwenfeld, 2nd edn (Leipzig, 1885–88), nos 6786, 7224. As for the background of these two papal letters, issued on the initiative of the archbishop of York and his protégé, Ralph Nowell, the *electus* of the Orkney Isles, see Lesley Abrams, 'Eleventh-Century Mission and the Early Stages of Ecclesiastical Organization in Scandinavia', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 17 (1994), 21–40 (pp. 28–30).
- 19 'Magnússona saga', in *Heimskringla*, ed. by Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, 3 vols, Íslenzk fornrit, 28 (Reykjavík, 1951), iii: 238.
- 20 Among them, a joint expedition of Earl Rognvald Kali of Orkney and Norwegian Magnate Erling skakki to the Holy Land (c. 1148) is the best-known one.
- 21 Cf. Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (Harmondsworth, 1993), pp. 243–50.
- 22 *Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages*, ii, part I, ed. by Kari E. Gade (Turnhout, 2009). The first part of the poem narrates how King Erik made a pilgrimage to Italy to be absolved from the excommunication, imposed by the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, and to meet Pope Urban II in person.
- 23 *Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Merseburg: Erster Teil (962–1357)*, ed. by Paul Kehr (Halle, 1899), no. 92, pp. 75–77.

- 24 Giles Constable, 'The Place of the Magdeburg Charter of 1107/08 in the History of Eastern Germany and of the Crusades', in *Vita religiosa im Mittelalter*, ed. by Franz J. Felten and Nikolas Jaspert (Berlin, 1999), pp. 285–99 (pp. 293–95).
- 25 *Urkundenbuch*, no. 92: p. 76: '[...] Ad hoc bellum devotas offert manus cum populo suo rex Danorum et alii principes per circuitum'.
- 26 *Libri memoriales capituli Lundensis*, ed. by Christian Weeke (Lund, 1884–89), p. 125: 'Asmundus et Godmundus, illutres laici, apud Slavos sub signo sancte crucis occisi sunt'.
- 27 *Passio et miracula beati Olavi: From a Twelfth Century Manuscript in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford*, ed. by F. Metcalfe (Oxford, 1881), pp. 112–13.
- 28 *Passio Olavi*, p. 113: 'Set cum enim in dei cultu veritas sit pernecessaria, huius rei assignationem distulimus, donec estate proxima ad confinia paganorum venientes, de aliis, qui facti noticiam etiam presentialiter habuerant, certitudinem caperemus'.
- 29 *Passio Olavi*, p. 113: '[...] quia nulla est conuentia christi ad belial'.
- 30 *Historia Norwegie*, ed. by Inger Ekrem and Lars B. Mortensen, trans. by Peter Fisher (Copenhagen, 2003), p. 56: '[...] Quarta Halogia, cuius incole multum Finnis cohabitant, et inter se commercia frequentant'.
- 31 Cf. *Frostatingslov*, in *Norges gamle love indtill 1387*, ed. by Peter A. Munch and Rudolf Keyser, 5 vols (Christiania, 1846–95) [henceforth *NgL*] II: 132:

If man gives a heathen person a night's lodging, she/he should dispatch the person to the church where the priest is present. And, if the heathen person departs from the church where the priest is present unbaptized, the man who offered the lodging is liable. Man should trade with such [unbaptized] person as briefly as possible, and then, let the person depart from there as soon as possible.

So, the laws did, in fact, neither forbid the lodging nor bartering itself, and the amount of fine for such a case is not specified.

- 32 *Morkinskinna*, ed. by Ármann Jakobsson and Þórður Ingi Guðjónsson, Íslenzk fornrit, 24, vol. II (Reykjavík, 2011), pp. 114–31.
- 33 Haki Antonsson, 'Some Observations on Martyrdom in Post-Conversion Scandinavia', *Saga-Book*, 28 (2004), 70–94 (pp. 77–87).
- 34 *LDNH*, no. 7, p. 44:

Decernimus itaque, ut arma non sumant et invite in nullam regiam expeditionem proficiscantur nisi ad colloquium, quod dicitur. Volumus autem ut episcopi, abates et reliqui sacerdotes per singulas ciuitates, burgos et uillas populum sibi commissum modis omnibus exhortentur quatenus contra excommunicatos et turbatores pacis uiriliter studeant dimicere, eos partier morientes, regna celestia, consequentur.

- 35 Jensen, 'The Second Crusade', p. 179.
- 36 *LDNH*, no. 23, pp. 82–84:

Alexander papa III regibus et principibus et aliis Christi fidelibus per regina Danorum, Norwegensium, Guetomorum et Gothorum constitutis. Non parum animus noster affligitur et amaritudine non modica et dolore torquetur, cum feritatem Estonum et aliorum paganorum illarum partium aduersus Dei fideles et christianae fidei cultores grauius insurgere et immanius debacchari audimus [...] Nos enim eis, qui aduersus saepe dictos paganos potenter et magnanimiter decertauerint, de peccatis suis, de quibus confessi fuerint et poenitentiam acceperint, remissionem unius anni confisi de misericordia Dei et meritis apostolorum Petri et Pauli concedimus, sicut his qui sepulcrum dominicum visitant concedere consueuimus.

- 37 Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades, 1147–1254* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 56–65.
- 38 King Sverrir of Norway, political rival of Archbishop and his ally Erling skakki, alludes to it once in his speech at Erling's funeral. *Sverris saga*, ed. by Þorleifur Hauksson, Íslenzk fornrit, 30 (Reykjavík, 2007), p. 61:

Many people know that Archbishop Eystein as well as other clergies promised to those who joined the cause of King Magnúss [Erlingsson] to defend this kingdom that their soul would be admitted in the Paradise even before their blood dropped and dried cold on the soil.

- 39 Ólafía Einaradóttir, 'Erik Ivarsson of Trondheim: Archbishop in Exile in Absalon's Lund 1190–1202', in *International Scandinavian and Medieval Studies in Memory of Gerd Wolfgang Weber*, ed. by M. Dallapiazza, Olaf Hensen, Preben Meulengracht Sørensen and Yvonne S. Bonnetain (Trieste, 2000), pp. 367–83.
- 40 Cf. Carsten S. Jensen, Kurt V. Jensen and John H. Lind, 'Communicating Crusades and Crusading Communications in the Baltic Region', *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, 49 (2001), 5–25 (pp. 11–14). As for the significance of the dispatch of papal legates for the better organization of the Baltic Crusade, see Fonnesberg-Schmidt, pp. 170–79.
- 41 *Historia Norwegie*, p. 60: 'Sunt eciam apud Finnos scuriones quam plures ac mustere. De quarum omnium bestiarum pellibus regibus Norwegie, quibus subiecti sunt, maxima tributa omni anno persoluunt.'
- 42 Hansen and Olsen, *Hunters in Transition*, pp. 46–57.
- 43 *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, ed. by Christian Lange, Carl R. Unger, H. J. Huitfeldt-Kaas, Gustav Storm, Ferdinand Linthose Næshagen and Tor Ulset, 23 vols (Christiania, 1847–) [henceforth *DN*], VI: 106.
- 44 *Ibid.*: 'Fidedigna multorum relacio ad apostolatus nostri deduxit auditum, quod quidam pagani dicti Finnar, crucis hostes et inimici nominis Christiani, maximas strages et depopulationes in Christianos illarum parcium exercuerunt hactenus [...].'
- 45 *DN*, VIII: 79:

According to the letter that you wrote and Arni slæipr brought to us eight days before, Lord Erlingr Vidkunnsón, steward of His Majesty, had addressed to you not once: One had he written during the last summer from Bergen, and another one he had from Viken (Eastern Norway). In these letters, he asked you about the help and advice from the wide circle of counsellors, consisting of the prominent men in the kingdom, concerning the support for the defense of Hålogaland, against the God's enemy, such as the Finns (Sámi), the Russians, and the Karelians. He also requested you to give some financial supports on the cost for the transportation as well as the weapons to those who wish to take an expedition to the North against the aforementioned enemy of the God all over the Norway, with the consent and the wise assistance of the bishops.

- 46 *DN*, VII: 100.
- 47 *DN*, IV: 163.
- 48 As for the overview of the mission of the papal nuncios (1326–34), see Torstein Jørgensen and Gaston Saletnich, *Letters to the Pope: Norwegian Relations to the Holy See in the Late Middle Ages* (Stavanger, 1999), pp. 89–98.
- 49 *DN*, VI: 113.
- 50 Christiansen, *Northern Crusade*, p. 180.
- 51 On the other hand, the entry of Novgorod Chronicle suggests the possible existence of the Karelians (Korels) that were independent or rather subject to Norsemen: *The Chronicle of Novgorod 1016–1471*, trans. by Robert Mitchell and Neville Forbes (London, 1914), p. 133.

- 52 *Islandske Annaler indtil 1578*, ed. by Gustav Storm (Christiania, 1888) [henceforth *IA*], p. 138.
- 53 *Ibid.*, pp. 141, 200, 388.
- 54 *Ibid.*, p. 346.
- 55 The first allusion to the fortress is found in *DN*, VIII: 125.
- 56 Håvard D. Bratrein, 'Finnmark før Vardøhus', in *Forpost mot Øst: Fra Vardø og Finnmarks historie 1307–2007*, ed. by Randi R. Balsvik and Jens P. Nielsen (Stamsund, 2008), pp. 27–33 (pp. 32–33).
- 57 Cf. *Chronicle of Novgorod*, trans. by Mitchell and Forbes, p. 119.
- 58 Bratrein, 'Finnmark før Vardøhus', p. 32.
- 59 Christiansen, *Northern Crusade*, pp. 183–88; Harrison, *Gud vil det!*, pp. 448–62.
- 60 *IA*, pp. 214, 223, 276, 354, 405.
- 61 *DN*, VI: 199.
- 62 *Alfræði íslensk: Islandsk encyklopædisk litteratur*, ed. by K. Kålund (Copenhagen, 1908), pp. 57–59.
- 63 Bandlien, 'Trading with Muslims', pp. 43–48.
- 64 *IA*, p. 393.
- 65 Bandlien, 'Trading with Muslims', p. 42; Hansen, pp. 319–25.
- 66 *NgL*, iii: no. 38.
- 67 Gunnar Westin, *Övre Norrlands historia*, I: *Tiden till 1600* (Umeå, 1962), p. 195.
- 68 *Svenskt Diplomatariums huvudkartotek över medeltidsbrev* / *The Main Catalogue of Diplomatarium Suecanum*, <<https://riksarkivet.se/sdhk>> [last accessed 11 July 2022], no. 13560.
- 69 Rasmussen, 'The Protracted Sámi Reformation', p. 181.

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